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THE
COURT OF
KING JAMES THE FIRST.

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KING JAMES THE FIRST.

*From the Original in the possession of
C. Bryant Esq.*

London, Published by Richard Bentley, 1839.

THE
COURT OF
KING JAMES THE FIRST;

BY
DR. GODFREY GOODMAN,
BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PERSONAL HISTORY
OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS IN
THE COURT OF THAT MONARCH AND HIS PREDECESSORS.
NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

BY JOHN S. BREWER, M.A.
OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

1587.

The Earl of Essex to Sir Edw. Dyer — (Gives an account of his quarrel with Queen Elizabeth for her favours to Raleigh, and ill-treatment of the Earl's sister. July 21, 1587) . Page 1

1596.

Anonymous to Sir Thomas Kitson — (Account of the action against Cadiz. July 23, 1596) 5

1601.

Conspiracy of the Earl of Essex — (Extract of a letter from Secretary Cecil) 11

Nottingham to Montjoy — (Essex's behaviour after his trial. 31st May) 14

The Lady Riche to the Lord Nottingham — (Clearing herself of her brother's treasons) 18

Thomas Tooke to Mr. John Hubberd — (Account of Queen Elizabeth's progress to Basing, and her entertainment at the house of Lord and Lady Paulet. Sept. 19, 1601) 20

1601—1603.

Lord Montjoy to Queen Elizabeth — (On his setting out for Ireland) 23

The Queen to Lord Montjoy 28

Lord Montjoy to Queen Elizabeth *ib.*

Lord Montjoy to Queen Elizabeth 29

VOL. II.

b

Lord Montjoy to Queen Elizabeth—(Nov. 1, 1601) .	Page 32
Lord Montjoy to Queen Elizabeth	33
Lord Montjoy to Queen Elizabeth—(Jan. 1601-2) .	34
Lord Montjoy to Queen Elizabeth	37
Nottingham and Cecil to Montjoy—(Of the Queen's disposition towards the rebels. Oct. 6, 1601)	39
Tyrone to Lord Montjoy—(Professing an absolute submission. Dec. 22, 1602)	41
The Queen to Lord Montjoy—(In answer to Tyrone's submis- sion. Feb. 16, 1602)	43
Cecil to Montjoy—(How he is to manage the Queen. Feb. 18, 1602)	45
The Queen to Lord Montjoy—(Feb. 17, 1602)	49
Tyrone to the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy of Ireland —(March 29, 1603)	53

1603.

[Death of Queen Elizabeth.]

Simon Theloal to the Right Worshipful Mr. Doctor Dun, Dean of the Arches, at Bremen in Germany—(March 26, 1603) .	55
--	----

[History of the bye plot, or, as it is called, Raleigh's plot; and
the execution of the conspirators.]

William Watson to the Lords of the Privy Council—(Giving an account of the plots of the Jesuit, and how he was betrayed by them)	59
Robert Hobart to Sir John Hobart—(Execution of Watson and Clarke. Dec. 5, 1603)	87
Robert Hobart to Sir John Hobart—(Execution of Brooke and Markham. Dec. 13, 1603)	89
T. Cornwalleys to Sir J. Hobart—(Execution of Brooke and Markham.—Exorcising at Court)	91
Sir Walter Raleigh to his wife—(After he had hurt himself in the Tower, takes his leave of her, and justifies suicide in his own case)	93

CONTENTS.

vii

1605.

[Anecdotes of Henry IV. of France.]

Sir George Carew to the Earl of Salisbury — (June 2, 1605)	Page 97
Sir George Carew to Lord Carew, his kinsman—(June 30, 1605)	100
Arabella Stuart to Prince Henry—(Oct. 18, 1605)	103, 104
Arabella Stuart to * * * *	105

[The Gunpowder Plot.]

Sir Edward Hobart to Sir Thomas Edmonds, Ambassador at the Court of Brussels—(Nov. 19, 1605)	106
Lord Montague to the Earl of Dorset—(Defending himself from the imputation of being concerned in the Gunpowder Plot. Nov. 8, 1605)	118
Lord Montague to the Earl of Dorset—(Nov. 12, 1605)	120
Lord Montague to the Earl of Dorset—(Nov. 13, 1605)	122

1606—1614.

[Miscellaneous News.]

Mr. Pory to Sir Robert Cotton—(Marriage of the Earl and Countess of Essex. Account of a mask by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones. Jan. 1606)	124
--	-----

1609-10.

Lady Compton to William Lord Compton, her husband—(Written upon occasion of his coming into possession of a large fortune)	127
Mr. John Sandford to Sir Thomas Edmonds—(Amusing description of Spain. March 6, 1610)	132
Mr. Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.—(Description of the arrival of the King of Denmark. July 29, 1614)	136
Mr. Pory to Sir Robert Cotton—(Entertainment of the King of Denmark)	138

1615.

[Overbury, and the examination of those concerned in his death.]

Sir Thomas Overbury to the Earl of Salisbury—(Sept 11)	143
The Queen to the Earl of Salisbury	145

Mr. John Castle to Mr. James Milles, at Southampton—(Execution of Mrs. Turner.—Trial of Sir J. Elwys—His Execution.—Franklin's Indictment. Nov. 28, 1615) . . . Page 145

Sir John Throckmorton to Mr. William Trumbull, Resident for King James at Brussels—(Execution of Sir J. Elwys.—Indictment of Sir Thomas Monson.—The Countess of Somerset) . 153

Sir John Throckmorton to Mr. Trumbull, from Flushing, sending him an extract of a letter from England—(Sir Thomas Monson's arraignment) 156

1614—1619.

[Miscellaneous News.]

The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of London—(Desires him to assist in raising a loan for the King, upon the Parliament refusing it. June, 1614) 157

Archbishop Abbot to Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham—(Upon his rise at Court. Dec. 10, 1615) . 160

Chief Justice Coke to Viscount Villiers—(Being out of favour he desires to be present at the Prince's creation. Nov. 4, 1616) 161

Sir L. Cranfield to Viscount Villiers—(The abuses in the King's revenues. Sept. 3, 1618) 164

Mr. Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.—(Various news of the day.—A Frenchman makes an attempt on the King's life.—Account of a duel between Sir H. Rich and Sir Edward Villiers.—Stukeley's complaint to King James, and the King's characteristic reply. Jan. 5, 1618-9) 168

Thomas Wallis to Dr. Ward, at the Synod of Dort—(Stukeley arraigned for clipping coin.—The burning of Whitehall. Jan. 23, 1618) 174

Mr. Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.—(Feb. 16, 1618-9) 176

The Countess of Buckingham to her Son the Marquis—(Exhorting him to study the book which the King had dedicated to him. Feb. 24, 1618) 183

Richard Trym to Sir Rob. Crane—(Miscellaneous news. Feb. 26, 1618) 185

Gerard Herbert to Dr. Ward—(Of the sickness of the Queen.—
Burning of Whitehall.—Stukeley's imprisonment. June 21, 1619)
Page 186

1620.

[Miscellaneous News.]

- The Earl of Rutland to the Marquis of Buckingham—(On his
running away with the Earl's daughter) 189
- The Marquis to the Earl—(Upon the same subject) 191
- Robert Woodward to Secretary Windebank — (Miscellaneous
news. June 13, 1620) 193
- Doctor, afterwards Bishop, Hall to Dr. Ward, at Dort—(News
of the day. March 30) 194
- Lady Lake to the Countess of Exeter—(Nov. 9, 1620) 196
- Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville—(Conspiracy against the
King's life. Feb. 17, 1620-1) 198
- L. Cranfield to the Duke of Buckingham—(State of the revenue.
July 28, 1621) 202
- L. Cranfield to the Duke of Buckingham—(State of the revenue.
Oct. 12, 1621) 207
- Prince Charles to the Duke—(Upon the House of Commons
proving refractory. Nov. 3, 1621) 209
- L. Cranfield to the Marquis of Buckingham—(Upon the same
subject and the state of the revenue. Dec. 4, 1621) 210
- Extract of a letter from Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to Dr.
Ward — (Account of Archbishop Spalato's return to Rome.
June 9, 1622) 218
- Lord Bacon to King James—(Upon his release from imprison-
ment. — His *Instauratio Magna* and other writings) — March 20,
1621 220
- Lord Bacon to Buckingham — (On the same occasion) — March
20, 1621 222
- Lord Bacon to Buckingham—(Expresses his anxiety to be taken
into favour and to return to public life)—April 18, 1623 223
- Secretary Naunton to the Marquis of Buckingham—(Upon his
disgrace. 1622) 225
- Secretary Naunton to King James—(Upon his disgrace. 1622)
227
- Lady Mary Jacob to Buckingham—(April 28, 1621) 229

Sir J. Wentworth to the Duke of Buckingham—(Desires to be excused from coming forward to justify his accusation of the Earl of Oxford and others)	Page 231
Gondomar to King James—(Moves the Spanish match. Sept. 19, 1622)	234
Gondomar to Buckingham—(On the same subject. Sept. 10, 1622)	238
Naunton to Buckingham—(Thanking him for interfering in his behalf. Sept. 4, 1622)	241
Heath to Buckingham—(Upon altering the coinage. August 31, 1622)	244
The Marquis of Hamilton to the Marquis of Buckingham	247
Mr. Mead to Sir M. Stuteville—(Sir E. Porter's accident in his embassy to the Queen of Bohemia.—Anecdote of James I. Oct. 19, 1622)	249

[The Spanish match.]

F. Cottington to Secretary Calvert—(Readiness of the Spanish Court to proceed with the match. July 7, 1622)	252
The Prince and the Duke to King James—(Giving account of their journey)	253
King James to the Prince and the Duke—(Of the trouble he has had in selecting the Prince's servants who were to follow him, and some grants made to the Duke)	255
The King to the Prince and the Duke—(Is resolved to bid farewell to peace in Christendom, if things mend not. March 11)	257
The Marchioness of Buckingham to her son—(After his departure into Spain. March 14, 1622)	258
Copy of his Majesty's letter to the King of Spain	259
The Prince's answer to the Pope's Nuncio	260
Balthasar Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham	<i>ib.</i>
Toby Matthews to the Duke of Buckingham—(Of the cabals raised against the Duke during his absence in Spain. March 29, 1623)	267
Toby Matthews to the Duke of Buckingham—(Of the same subject. March 29, 1623)	270
Secretary Conwey to the Duke of Buckingham—(April 2, 1623)	273

The Marchioness of Buckingham to her son, at the Court of Spain—(April 6, 1623)	Page 276
The Duchess of Buckingham to her Husband—(Desires his return.—Gives an account of her little daughter Moll. July 16)	277
The Duchess of Buckingham to her Husband	283
Secretary Conwey to the Duke of Buckingham—(April 12, 1623)	286
Conwey to Buckingham—(The King's kindness to little Mary Villiers. May 3, 1623)	290
Conwey to Buckingham—(June 15, 1623)	291
King James to the Infanta—(Aug. 30, 1623)	295
Prince Charles and the Duke to King James—(March 21, 1623)	296
Extract of a letter from King James to Prince Charles and the Duke—(Copied from the original by Archbishop Sancroft. April 7, 1623)	297
King James to Prince Charles and the Duke—for the Prentis—(May 11)	298
The King to the Prince—(May 11)	<i>ib.</i>
King James to Prince Charles and the Duke—(July 31)	299
Ed. Clarke to the Duke of Buckingham—(Proceedings at Court. Aug. 1)	300
R. Turpyn to the Duke—(Of the cabals at court during the Duke's absence. Aug. 1, 1623)	302
Toby Matthews to the Duchess of Buckingham—(Letter of comfort. Aug. 8, 1623)	303
Secretary Conwey to the Duke of Buckingham—(The King's affection for the Duke is as strong as ever. Aug. 11, 1623)	306
The Duchess of Buckingham to her Husband—(Aug. 12)	309
James Waddsworth to the Duke of Buckingham—(Reports of his conduct in Spain. Nov. 11, 1623)	314

1624—1626.

The Earl of Bristol to the Bishop of Lincoln—(Miscellaneous News. July 8, 1623)	320
Bedell to Ward—(Examination of Cranfield Earl of Middlesex. April 16, 1624)	325

Gerbier to Buckingham—(Giving him an account of his negotiation for different works of art abroad. Nov. 17, 1624)	Page 326
Conwey to Buckingham—(Proceedings against Middlesex and Bristol. June 14, 1624)	346
Villiers Holman to the Cardinal Richelieu — (July 21, 1624)	348
Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham—(Dec. 2, 1624)	356
Duke of Buckingham to King James—(Upon certain sums to be given for honors at court)	361
Conwey to the Duke of Buckingham—(Arrival and reception of the French Ambassador Villeaux Clercs. Dec. 4, 1624)	363
Sir Walter Aston to the Duke—(Dispute between Olivares and Gondomar. Dec. 24, 1624)	368
Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham—(Feb. 8, 1624-1625)	369
Sir R. Heath and Sir T. Coventry to the Duke of Buckingham—(Proceedings against Lady Purbeck the Duke's sister-in-law, and Sir Robert Howard. Feb. 24, 1624)	376
King James to * * * —(1625)	379
Chevreuse to the Duke of Buckingham	380
King James to the Duke of Buckingham—(Invitation to hunt at Harrison's Heath, &c.)	382
Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham	383
Gerbier to the Duke of Buckingham	388
Earl of Bristol to Sir Kenelm Digby—(Of his dispute with the Duke of Buckingham. Feb. 6, 1625)	397
The Earl of Bristol to Lord Conwey—(March 4, 1625)	399
Buckingham to Bristol—(March 21, 1625)	402
* * * * to Mr. Mead—(Disastrous event of a duel—and other accidents of the time. March 4, 1624-5)	404
Andrew Byng to * * * —(Proceedings against Bristol in the House of Lords. May 9, 1625)	407

THE COURT OF
KING JAMES.

1587.

THE EARL OF ESSEX'S LETTER TO MR. EDW. DIER.*

[Gives an account of his quarrel with Queen Elizabeth for her favours to Raleigh, and ill-treatment of the Earl's sister.]

MR. DIER,

I HAVE been this morning at Winchester House to seek you ; and I would have given a thousand pounds to have had one hour's speech with you, so much I would hearken to your counsel, and so greatly do I esteem your friendship. Things are fallen out very strangely against me since my last being with you. Yesternight the Queen came to North-hall, where my Lady of Warwick would needs have my sister to be ; which though I knew not at the first, yet, to prevent the worst, I made my aunt Leighton signify so much unto the Queen before her coming from Theobald's,

* Afterwards Sir Edward Dyer : he was employed by the Queen as her agent in the Low Countries, in 1583. Birch's Elizabeth, c. 46.

that at her coming to North-hall this matter might not seem strange unto her. She seemed to be well pleased and well contented with it, and promised to use her well. Yesternight, after she was come, and knew my sister was in the house, she commanded my Lady of Warwick that my sister should keep her chamber: whereupon, being greatly troubled in myself, I watched when the Queen had supped, to have some speech with her; which I had at large, yet still she giving occasion thereof. Her excuse was, first, she knew not of my sister's coming, and besides, the jealousy that the world would conceive that all her kindness to my sister was done for love of myself. Such bad excuses gave me a theme large enough, both for answer of them, and to tell her what the true causes were why she would offer this disgrace both to me and to my sister; which was only to please that knave Raleigh, for whose sake I saw she would both grieve me and my love, and disgrace me in the eye of the world. From thence she came to speak of Raleigh, and it seemed she could not well endure anything to be spoken against him; and taking hold of one word, *disdain*, she said there was no such cause why I should disdain him. This speech troubled me so much, that, as near as I could, I did describe unto her what he had been, and what he was; and then I did let her see whether I had cause to disdain his competition of love, or whether I

could have comfort to give myself over to the service of a mistress that was in awe of such a man. I spoke, what of grief and choler, as much against him as I could ; and I think, he, standing at the door,* might very well hear the worst that I spoke of himself. In the end, I saw she was resolved to defend him and to cross me. From thence she came to speak bitterly against my mother ; which because I could not endure to see me and my house disgraced, (the only matter which both her choler and the practice of my enemies had to work upon,) I told her, for mine sister she should not any longer disquiet her ; I would, though it were almost midnight, send her away that night ; and for myself, I had no joy to be in any place, but loth to be near about her, when I knew my affection so much thrown down, and such a wretch as Raleigh highly esteemed of her. To this she made no answer, but turned her away to my Lady of Warwick.† So at that late hour I sent my man away with my sister, and after I came hither myself. This strange alter-

* As captain of the guard.

† The Countess of Warwick seems to have been a zealous friend to the Earl. When he fell under the displeasure of the Queen, which was the occasion of his ruin, she promised him to take a lodging at Greenwich, that when the Queen went abroad in good humour, of which the countess would give him notice, he should have an opportunity of presenting himself, and obtaining the restoration of the Queen's favour. Birch's Bacon Papers, ii. 462. Unfortunately, the Earl had not patience enough to wait for the opportunity.

ation is by Raleigh's means : and the Queen, that hath tried all other ways, now will see whether she can by these hard courses drive me to be friends with Raleigh, which rather shall drive me to many other extremities. If you come hither by twelve of the clock, I would fain speak with you. My resolution will let me take no longer time. I will be this night at Marget, and if I can I will ship myself for Flushing. I will see Sluse lost or relieved, which cannot be yet, but is now ready to be done. If I return, I will be welcomed home ; if not, *una bella morte* is better than a disquiet life. This course may seem strange, but the extreme unkind dealing with me drives me to it. My friends will make the best of it, mine enemies cannot say it is dishonest ; the danger is mine, and I am content to abide the worst. Whatsoever becomes of me, God grant her to be ever most happy ; and so in haste I commit you to God.

Your's assured,

This 21st of July [1587].* R. ESSEX.

If you show my letter to any body, let it be to my mother, and Mr. Secretarie.†

* The date of this letter is inferred from the mention of the siege of Sluys, which we learn from Camden was in this year beleaguered by the Prince of Parma. Essex did really execute his purpose of stealing from court ; but the Queen sent Sir Robert Cary after him, to persuade him by all possible means to return. Cary's Mem. p. 8.

† Tan. MSS. part in lxxvi. 46 ; part in lxxvii. 384. Corrected by Abp. Sancroft.

1596.

ANONYMOUS TO SIR THOMAS KITSON.

[Account of the Action against Cadiz.*]

SIR,

ALBEIT I am well assured that you cannot want many good advertisements of this late news, whereof sundry have prevented the ordinary pace of this common courier; yet because such confirmation of this most prosperous and triumphant success is not yet come, and is to be wished, and is hourly looked for, I will be bold to impart what I have heard, how late soever the same do come unto you. The news that are now here thus common, were first brought into Britain by a bark of Ruoco,† and thence advertised hither. Secondly, by a small pinnace, a man of war, who had been on the coast of Spain and taken a small prize, and brought it into Porchmouth. Thirdly, by an Englishman, who had been prisoner in Spain, and escaped away in a ship of Denmark;

* In 1596, Queen Elizabeth, hearing that the King of Spain was preparing to invade this country, resolved to prevent him. For which purpose she despatched a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, with two-and-twenty Dutch ships, and seven thousand soldiers, under the command of Lord Howard, and the celebrated Essex, against Cadiz, which they captured on the 21st of June, burning the Spanish fleet which lay there. The particulars of this action are narrated in Birch's Bacon Papers, i. 465. This action at Cadiz is referred to in several parts of his Memoirs by Bishop Goodman. See also Camden's Elizabeth, p. 516, and Tytler's Life of Raleigh, p. 166.

† C. Roca?

who, being landed in the West Country, is come hither to London, and this day by chance I spake with this man upon the Change. But, fourthly and lastly, which carrieth yet most credit, this news is brought by certain Flemish merchants, who are very lately come from St. Lucars, and making some stay in the West Country; Sir Francis Godolphin have taken their examinations, and Sir Henry Palliners, and sent them to the Court, whereof many copies are every where published. That which giveth greatest hope and beareth likelihood of truth is this, that all these four several advertisements happening (as we heard it) in three several days, do all in substance concur, which is of the overthrow of ninety sail of Spain; whereof forty freighted with Spanish commodities and bound for the West Indies, twenty-two or twenty-four great ships of war loaden with victual and ordnance only, and three great ships loaden with biscuit, to be carried to Lysborne and the Spanish fleet in other places. Two of these, viz. the Admiral and Vice-admiral, being called St. Philip and St. Paul, burned themselves in the harbour at Cades; the Philip was said to be of fifteen hundred tons. The rest were almost all gallies, which were all sunk and taken, saving two or three. It is reported that the gallies maintained fight long, and took fresh men from the shore instead of them that were slain three several times, and the latter time they were quite over-

thrown. These things were done the 20th and the 21st of June. On the 20th, Cades was entered, as it is said, by the Dutch first, who in their fury spared neither age nor sex, but put all to the sword: there was found in the Philip, after the fire was quenched, forty-two great pieces of ordnance. The Duke of Medina Sydonia, who was general of their fleet in anno 1588, came to the rescue of Cades from St. Lucars, with four hundred horse and three thousand foot, but was discomfited, and two great commanders of his slain; himself escaped. This duke is holden in Spain to be a man of incomparable wisdom and wonderful valour, as Seignor Anthony de Peres,* the Spaniard that was here, reported; but against the English he hath had but mean fortune. There were twenty-eight [eighteen?] ships coming from Seville, which upon the alarm at Cades retired up the river, being (as they say) pursued by some of our smallest ships, and such gallies as they took: it is holden that St. Mary Port and St. Lucars also are both burnt. I pray God send us once some certainty from my Lord of Essex himself, for it is a full month since these things were done, and yet no word is come from the fleet. The reason hereof is verily supposed to be this, that my lord will not send till he have been at Civile, which our wisest courtiers do verily think, and I

* A great friend to the Earl of Essex. He is frequently mentioned in the Bacon Papers.

hear them confirm their conjectures with oaths, that they will undoubtedly take Civile also. The news of taking Cades and overthrowing the Spanish fleet, was on Tuesday last confirmed by letters from the French King to the Queen's Majesty, who hath received the very latest advertisement that we have here; but none that was present hath yet made report thereof, either in England or France. I have sent you here enclosed the copy of a letter which was sent from my Lord of Essex to the Council here,* a little before his going from Plymouth. I beseech you keep it very private, and return it safe enclosed in a sheet of paper when your worship may conveniently. It may be you have seen it before; but I am sure there are very few copies thereof, and I came by this by great chance. I have sent your worship some collections touching the present state of Ireland, which were lately sent over to the Council here. For all the good service of the Dutch in Hulst, the town is now in distress and in great danger to be lost, the siege is now so strong. I hear that there shall presently go from hence to the relief thereof, for that it is a town of very

* This letter of the Earl of Essex is found in the volume, next to this letter here printed, and contains a postscript which is not generally printed with the letter.

“ I beseech your Lordship's pardon my using of another hand for this transcript, for I have been forced to go from ship to ship to make our loiterers go out of harbour; and have made my head unable to write so long a letter.”

It is generally printed among Lord Bacon's Letters.

great importance. The Council here are much busied about this [supply], and the matters of Ireland; Sir Richard Bingham is drawn into some question there by means of General Norris, who is not his friend, and accused of great matters, and removed from his charge in Connaught; but it is thought he will both acquit himself honestly and recover his place very shortly.

The Borderers in Scotland have lately made a road into our borders and carried away one Captain Musgrave, a gentleman of good living and worthy, notwithstanding all the pursuit that has been made to recover him. There were yesterday two of the Greames before the Council here, who were accused as accessory to the conveying away of a prisoner out of Carlisle Castle, whereof you have heard, which the Lord Buckclughe of Scotland took; but they have cleared themselves. The Earl of Northumberland is come to the Court, and hath made his excuse for going into France; so as the burden will now lie upon my lord for the performance of that service, for so it is agreed both by the Queen and Council. The greatest part of this negotiation will be, to take the King's oath to certain articles already agreed upon betwixt her Majesty and him; and the Duke of Bullein* cometh hither to take the

* Added in the margin, "The Duke of Bullein is looked for here about a month hence."

The Duke de Bouillon and M. de Harley Sancy were sent over into England by Henry IV. of France, to negotiate with

Queen's oath. On Tuesday last, 20 July, old Sir Francis Knowles, Treasurer of the Household, departed this life. On Wednesday the 21st, Mr. Bashe of Essex, the son and heir of Gascoinges Bashe, that married Mr. Carys's daughter, of the Privy Chamber, was drowned, shooting London Bridge at low water. Yesterday, being Thursday, betwixt eleven and twelve of the o'clock at night, my Lord Chamberlain* departed this life; a nobleman to whom my poor self was more particularly bounden for many honourable good usages than to any in court.

My lord and lady are not yet returned, but to-morrow I do undoubtedly look for their coming. Thus, having patched up a rude tedious letter, after mine accustomed manner, I humbly take my leave, beseeching you to present my most humble duty and service to that worthy knight Sir Thomas Cornewaleys, of whom I do of my faith assure you [I] continually here in London hear more honourable commendation for many notable things in this time than of any of his coat in England; so as I heartily pray the Almighty that

the Queen. The principal articles of this treaty consisted in stipulations for mutual assistance in event of either kingdom being invaded. It was also agreed, that neither of the two crowns should make peace without the consent of the other. The Queen swore to this treaty at Greenwich, on the 29th of August. A very amusing account of the ceremony is still preserved in the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian.

* Henry Brook, Lord Cobham.

he will prolong his days upon earth, to the comfort of all those that are dear unto him in particular, and for the relief of the poor commons about him in general. Mine humble duty to my singular good lady I desire your worship may be remembered.

This Friday, 23rd of July 1596.

Your worship's in all duty to command,

* * * *

To the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Kitson, Knt.
at Hengrave.†

1601.

CONSPIRACY OF THE EARL OF ESSEX.†

IN Winwood's papers§ the reader will find the celebrated letter of Cecil to Winwood, 7th March

† Tan. Orig. Hol. cxlvi. 77.

‡ The conduct of the Earl of Essex at his death was marked with the same inconsistency which characterized most of his actions during his life. His accusation of his sister, who had been a most earnest suitor for his life and liberty whilst he was under the Queen's displeasure, is of a piece with his betrayal, on their accusation, of his accomplices. The apologists of the Earl are at a loss to account for his conduct on this occasion; and difficult indeed would be the task, if we are to form our estimate of his character from their descriptions.

In his confession he charged several of the conspirators with designs of destroying their country; specifying Sir Christopher Blount, and his own secretaries, Cuffe and Temple. After his condemnation he desired to speak with the former, and told him that he had been one of the chiefest instigators to these disloyal

1600, giving an account of the trial and conduct of the Earl of Essex. Probably a circular letter of a similar nature was sent round to all our ambassadors, to make use of as a kind of official document; since I find another letter of Cecil's to Sir George Carew, President of Munster, almost verbally the same, except at the beginning and the ending, and differing in such expressions as were of necessity to be changed in a letter written at a later date, as this is.

The latter part of this letter* is here presented to the reader.

“ It remaineth now that I let you know what is like to become of the poor young Earl of Southampton, who merely for the love of the Earl hath been drawn into this action; who, in respect that most of the conspiracies were at Drury-house, where he was always chief, and where Sir Charles Davers lay, those that would deal for him (of courses. To this charge Cuffe made no other reply than by complaining of his lordship's inconstancy, and betrayal of those who had devoted themselves to his service. The Earl then proceeded to say, that several persons had been privy to his designs, especially Lord Montjoy and Sir Henry Neville; the latter of whom (who on his return from France was imprisoned on this very account) complained that the Earl, in his confession, had acted towards him both unequally and uncharitably. Birch's Bacon Papers, ii. 479. These facts from independent and impartial sources add weight to the testimony of Nottingham, which otherwise should be received with caution, since it is not improbable that he and Essex were not on favourable terms. See Camd. 535.

* Tan. lxxvi. 74. In Sancroft's hand, and copied, in all probability, by him from the original.

which number I protest to God I am one as far as I dare) are much disadvantaged of arguments to save him. And yet, when I consider how penitent he is, and how merciful the Queen is, and that never in thought or deed, but in this conspiracy, he offended; as I cannot write in despair, so I dare not flatter myself with hope.

“For the rest of the noblemen that are in the Tower, as Rutland, Sands, Cromwell, Monteagle, excepting Sands and Cromwell, I presume the other two shall have mercy; but Sands and Cromwell are appointed to be tried to-morrow by the peers at Westminster-Hall. For Sir Charles Davers, nothing hath more alienated the hearts of men to deal for him than this, that above all others, till he saw all their own hands, he was most obstinate in impudent denials.* Sir Henry

* He persisted in his denials till he had seen the confession of the other conspirators under their own hands. Upon this he made a full and complete acknowledgment of the plot. This confession has been printed by Birch in the Bacon Papers, ii. 470, and is of the utmost importance for the secret history of the proceedings of the Earl and his friends. If the paper was ever perused by the Queen, no wonder that Montjoy felt the uneasiness which he shows in his letters: and less wonderful is it that the Queen was implacable towards Essex, whom she would thus see employed in intriguing for the succession of James, or attempting to raise a party in Wales, to satisfy his own private ambition; this latter course Montjoy prudently declined.

From the same paper it appears that Davers had been obliged to Cecil; for he says, “I owed a respect to Mr. Secretary, unto whom I was much beholden; and therefore would not be engaged in anything against his person.”

Nevil, that was ambassador in France, is likewise in displeasure, for having been acquainted with all the circumstances of this plot by Cuff and Davers, and not revealed it; which in a gentleman of his wisdom hath been no small crime, nor to me no small grief, having married mine own cousin-german. Three or four days since, here arrived the Earl of Marr with the Lord of Kinloss, ambassadors from the King of Scotland: their errands are generally holden to be to deal plainly and sincerely with the Queen about the foreign employments wherewith the King hath been scandalized abroad; likewise about Sir Wm. Evers and other prisoners here. He hath not yet had audience, because his carriages are not yet arrived.*

“Your affectionate friend to command,

“Ro. CECYLL.”

NOTTINGHAM TO MONTJOY.

[Essex's behaviour after his trial.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I HAVE received your letter of the 16th of May, and must acknowledge myself much beholden unto you, that it pleaseth you to protest the trust which you repose in me; which I will never fail you of.

Sir Olyver St. Jon hath showed me the journal

* A different cause is supposed in Cecil's letter to Winwood. Winw. i. 302.

of the sundry services that hath been done upon the rebels* since your lordship's government. And by that I see how you have not only taken from them their goods and chattels, but also cut off their lives and burnt their towns; and so ruined a number of them, as, if the feathers of the arch-traitor be so plucked, and his members so disjointed but a little more, he will not be able to show his face but in the bushes, where he can but creep. So as your lordship may think yourself a most happy man to bring that poor ruined country into frame again, great service to her Majesty, and infinite pleasure to yourself.

And whereas your lordship doth write to me that I should be a means unto her Majesty that yourself might be the reporter to her of the state of that realm, it is a question with me and maketh a great doubt, bearing the place I do, whether in my duty to her, considering how all things doth prosper under you, to press to her your now coming thence; the other in my love to you, which I protest in respect of yourself, and the desire you have, I should be most glad to see you here with us your companions at the feast, and yet ever with that respect to the service of the state there, that by your absence too long that might not be neglected. But all this power lyeth in her Majesty, whose pleasure in it your lordship may understand. And now, but by passage, I think her Majesty could be most glad to see and

* He means in Ireland.

look upon your black eyes here, so she were sure you would not look with too much respect of other black eyes. But for that, if the Admiral were but thirty years old, I think he would not differ in opinions from the Lord Montioy.

I am sure your lordship hath had the relation at large of the late Earl of Essex' proceedings, who forgot God, his loyalty to his sovereign, above all measure of a reasonable man. Yet he died like a Christian, and God hath his soul. Yet will I acquaint your lordship with some particulars. The day after his arraignment he humbly desired that her Majesty would send some of her council to him, and that I might be one of them. So the next day, being Friday, Mr. Secretary* and myself was sent unto him. And thus he did begin with us:—I do humbly thank her Majesty that it hath pleased her to send you two unto me, and you are both most heartily welcome; and above all things I am most bound unto her Majesty that it pleased her to let me have this little man, Mr. Ashton, my minister with me for my soul. For, said he, this man in a few hours hath made me know my sins unto her Majesty, and to my God. And [I] must confess to you, that I am the greatest, the most vilest, and most unthankfullest traitor that ever was born in this kind. And therefore, if it shall please you, I will deliver now the truth, though yesterday at the bar, like a most sinful wretch, with countenance

* Cecil.

and words I maintained all falsehood. Then he began to lay open the practice for the suppressing of her Majesty and the court; who were at the counsels at Drewry House, the Earl of Southampton's lodging; that these were they appointed by the Earl to consider how it should be put in execution,—the Earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Fa. Gorg, Sir Jo. Davis, Sir Nevill and Coffe; Sir Christopher Blunt he ever kept with him; he spared none of these to let us know how continually they laboured him about it. And now, said he, I must accuse one who is most nearest to me, my sister, who did continually urge me on with telling me how all my friends and followers thought me a coward, and that I had lost all my valour; and then thus, that she must be looked to, for she had a proud spirit; and spared not to say something of her affection to you. Would your lordship have thought this weakness and this unnaturalness in this man? This moved her Majesty to think fit that she should be committed, and appointed me to that pleasing office. I did obey her as it became me, and sent her to Mr. He. Lakford's house, where she remained till she was examined by myself and her secretary. She used herself with that modesty and wisdom, as, the report being made unto her Majesty, she was presently set at liberty, and sent unto my lord her husband's.

I cannot forbear, after all this unpleasant dis-

course, but a little to make you afraid with sending you this enclosed, when you consider what a youth I am. Yet this you shall be assured, that I am faithful to my friend; and my Lord Montjoy shall so ever find me

Most readiest to be commanded by him,
NOTTINGHAM.

There hath been executed the Earl of Essex, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Crystofer Blunt, Sir Gilly Meryke, and Cofe; and I trust they shall be all. For the Earl of Southampton, though he be condemned, yet I hope well for his life; for Mr. Secretary and myself use all our wits and power for it. I hope no more of the noblemen shall be attainted. Good my lord, when you have read this letter, consume it; for so will I with yours.

This last of May.*

To the Right Hon. and my very good Lord, the Lord Montjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland; with a letter from the Lady Penelope Rich.

A LETTER OF THE LADY RICHE TO THE LORD
..... † CLEARING HERSELF OF HER BROTHER'S
TREASONS.

WORTHY LORD,

I MUST humbly intreat you to pardon my importuning you with these lines, since the obliga-

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxvi. 38.

† The blank should be filled with the name of Nottingham, as appears by the last letter. This lady loved Montjoy, with whom she afterwards lived, and by whom she had several children.

tions your favours have laid upon me are so great as they even burthen my soul with thankfulness; and desire to let your lordship know, that as my mind hath been long since dedicated to honour you, so hath your late kindnesses vouchsafed me so much comfort, as the bond is more infinite than I can any way discharge, but only with the true and inviolable love of an obedient friend, which I will rather die than fail of, so long as I have breath. For my deserts towards him that is gone, it is known that I have been more like a slave than a sister; which proceeded out of my exceeding love, rather than his authority. What I have lost or suffered, besides her Majesty's displeasure,* I will not mention: yet so strangely have I been wronged, as may well be an argument to make one despise the world, finding the smoak of envy where affection should be clearest. But God pardon such humors, and deal with me as I was free from the love or knowledge of these unruly counsells. And, lastly, I beseech your lordship to hold me in your precious favour, since you are the person that, above all others, I have reason to honour and respect, both in regard of your own vertues and your noble kindnesses towards me, who can present you with no merit but my vowes to be endlessly your lordship's most faithful to do you service. PENELOPE RICHE.†

* See Birch's Bacon Papers, ii. p. 441.

† Tan. cxiv. 174. Orig. Hol.

Your lordship's noble disposition forceth me to deliver my grief unto you, hearing a report that some of these malicious tongues have sought to wrong a worthy friend of yours.* I know the most of them did hate him for his zealous following the service of her Majesty, and beseech you to pardon my presuming thus much, though I hope his enemies can have no power to harm him.

1601.

TO MY VERY ASSURED GOOD FRIEND, MR. JOHN
HUBBERD.

[Account of Queen Elizabeth's progress to Basing, and her entertainment at the house of Lord and Lady Paulet.]

SIR,

It is your pleasure I should acquaint you with the estate of our house, and how matters are carried with us at Basinge; demands sorting neither with my coat, nor fitting with my occupation to answer. If to be satisfied in our domestic affairs had been your only desire, I would, knowing your sound affection to the honor and owners thereof, have borrowed so much of good manners to have been a blab in our household business. But to deal with the court of a prince, or deliver ought of the occurrences thereof, Basing being now the royal seat of our Queen, is much unbecoming the clerk of a kitchen; yet, under bene-

* Montjoy.

dicite, I will make a brief confession of both. Her Majesty, with Scarborough warning, diverting her course intended to my Lord of Hertford's, directly to Basinge, on Saturday night, this 5th of September, thereinto entered, where all things for so great entertainment but elbow room and good will were wanting; which considered, my lady's counsel stood firm for her remove to Hackwood, and thereof had fully resolved. But Sir William Cornwallis, to whom the entertainment of a prince hath been but a pastime, with his violent persuasions prevailed for her continuance at Basing; undertaking himself to manage the action, which he performed with more honor and less charge than was expected; yet with more charge than the constitution of Basing may well bear. On Saturday the 12th, Mons. de Biron, accompanied with divers lords and gentlemen, French, repaired from The Vine, where they were nobly lodged, unto Basing; from whence, after a small time of audience given, they departed. On Sunday, Countie Aberque* (?), and divers nobles of France, by means of the council, dined with my lord and lady† that night for mere good will and love of the fair ladies. They invited themselves to supper, where there was that night great revellings; and so likewise on Monday night, and Tuesday's dinner, when we were of them delivered. Many were the importunities

* Or Merque.

† Lord and Lady Paulett.

and devices for my lady to entertain them all with a dinner on Monday, but her good fortune and the favor of her friends found means to avoid it; so that the same day after her Majesty, with the said French lords, had spent the forenoon in the slaughter of some 20 deer in the great park, feasted them at her own charge in my lord's great chamber, erst the wardrobe in the Armory Court, but by Sir William transformed to a fair presence; on Friday, 18, her Majesty, upon the instant of her departure, with abundance of grace, in Basinghall, made 11 knights; namely, Mr. Ed. Cicill first, Mr. Hamden Paulett, Mr. Tickborne, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Carey Rawley, Mr. Ludlowe, Mr. Yooton, Mr. Kingsmell, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Beynton, Mr. Stoner. And the Sunday, dining with Mr. Whit at Southwarmborrow, to make up a full dozen, her Majesty strengthened, or rather overlaid (if a prince's favor may be a burthen) his weak shoulders with the same order, and swore his wife one of her women. This for the court, of whom we are now cleared. Now for our house, the state whereof being subject to a continual motion, being carried about with so many motives, seems at this time to bring on us a new alteration. Mr. Steward, as far as I can gather, excepts with great dislikes against many proceedings; being already in a manner deprived of all power, and overpowered by others: and I doubt of his continuance, such is his

discontentment. If fair leisure would permit, your person, no doubt, would do good; for if this disease be not now cured, or at the best stirred, it will prove ever hereafter incurable. Other news here is none, but the woeful and most pitiful burning of Basingstoke, on Wednesday, the 16 of this instant, where is consumed with fire 14 fine houses, besides barns and stables. Thus, with my duty, &c. Yours truly,

THOMAS TOOKE.*

Basing, the 19 of Sept. 1601.

1601—1603.

LORD MONTJOY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH,

ON HIS SETTING OUT FOR IRELAND.†

SACRED MAJESTY,

IF in this employment I should only expose my life and what sustains it to assured hazard, I

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxvi. p. 224.

† The following letters relate to a period in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, generally passed over by our historians in a very summary, not to say, careless manner. They are interesting, also, as being the only autographs as yet known of one who was as distinguished by the grace and beauty of his person, as by the qualities of his mind,—the gallant Charles Blunt, Earl of Montjoy.

This lord had the ability and happiness to terminate the Irish war, which broke the heart of Norris, was the ruin of Essex, and caused greater uneasiness to Queen Elizabeth than any other occurrence during her reign. The concurrent statement of Naunton and Camden, that the rebellion of Tyrone sunk deep into the heart of Elizabeth, and produced that set-

should take no other counsel but your will, and think them vile respects in comparison of the precious opportunity to serve you. But, the first face of this journey threatening unto me the certain loss of your favour, pardon me if I look fearfully thereon. It is natural unto reasonable instruments, before they work, to know and to look upon the end, and with discretion to think and find out the means unto it; which if they cannot, both nature and wisdom do shun impossibilities. If I will conclude to myself herein, by example, I shall behold all that have gone before me, without exception, for many ages to have been thunderstricken with the indignation of the prince,

tled melancholy which hastened her death, has hardly met with sufficient attention. Tyrone was pardoned, but with a very ill grace, as will be seen by the following correspondence. Had Elizabeth indeed lived longer, she would probably have found the means of inflicting upon him the full force of her severest resentment.

The following remarks of Naunton, in the Preface to his *Fragmenta Regalia*, are so much in accordance with the spirit of these letters, that I think fit to submit them to the reader :

“ This also,” he observes, “ I present as a known observation, that she was (though very capable of council) *absolute enough* in her own resolutions, *which was ever apparent even to her last, in that her aversation to grant Tyrone the least drop of her mercy, though earnestly and frequently advised ; yea, wrought only by the whole council of state, with very many pressing reasons, and, as the state of her kingdom then stood* (I may speak it with assurance), *necessitated arguments.* * * * * The Irish action we may call a malady and a consumption of her times, for it accompanied her to her end, and it was of so profuse and vast an expense, that it drew near a distemperature of state and of passion in

which doth not only wound deadly, but leaves where it strikes the black marks of infamy ; the which not to fear is not valour, but impiety. If by reason (since your end is to reduce your kingdom to a peaceable obedience) I must consider whether in respect of their state and affections, or of the power and countenance that you will give to your action, or, lastly, of the interpretation I am likely to receive of my proceedings, I may hope for any better than this worst that hath happened to my forerunners. The hearts of your unnatural subjects there, which have already declared themselves above their lives,

herself ; for, toward her last, *she grew somewhat hard to please*, her arms being accustomed to prosperity, and the Irish persecution not answering her expectation and wonted success for a good while ; it was an unthrifty and inauspicious war, which did much disturb and mislead her judgment ; and the more, for that it was a precedent which was taken out of her own pattern ; for as the Queen (by way of diversion) had, at the coming to the crown, supported the revolted states of Holland, so did the King of Spain turn the trick on herself, towards her going out, by cherishing the Irish rebellion."

According to the same authority, the yearly establishment of horse and foot was about 20,000. The charge of the war alone cost £300,000 per annum, which was not the moiety of her other disbursements.

All these letters of Lord Montjoy are in his own hand. It is stated in Morison's Itinerary, that, when the Earl of Essex fell into trouble, the Lord Montjoy, for fear of having his papers seized, took them out of his secretary's hands, and wrote the draughts of all his letters with his own hand.

He frequently requests to be recalled ; the sincerity of this request may, however, reasonably be doubted.

affect, by shaking off your royal and equal government, to enjoy their old licentious liberty; and by reason of the multitude and quality of their offences despair of your mercies: they were never in greater hope to effect the one, becoming proud by success and strong in power, nor more desperate of the other, by reason of the diffidence they have in the disability of your instruments safely to derive your mercy unto them. The same desire of this kind of liberty hath infected even those *indigenæ* in whom you build to have most interest. The greatest of whom, and of greatest appearance to be yours, the Earl of Ormond, is suspected to have strict intelligence with the enemy, for the present preservation of his country and for his future interest; and is known ambitiously to desire the place you employ me in. The rest, when they despair to be defended, will suddenly fall, as now they do cleave to the enemy. Wherefore what assistance, nay, what opposition, I may look from them, I humbly submit to your Majesty's judgment. For your power, the reputation and effect whereof is the only mean to govern them that have now no other bonds but their own fear and your constraint: when I shall succeed our head,* greatest in your favor, and greater by his place and offices, (the arguments thereof,) and of greatest reputation among your subjects and realms for his service to you, enabled with a strong army and large

* Probably Essex.

commission; with only means to govern them by laws that have their swords already drawn, or to negotiate a peace with less power over their lives, or less authority to derive unto them your mercy with assurance, what shall I hope for, but that which could not be effected by far greater means will not be by far less? And, lastly, for the interpretation of my proceedings, which may turn both good and ill success to my ruin; what shall I look for when I know this employment of me is by a private man that never knew what it was to divide public and honorable ends from his own, propounded and labored to you (without any respect to your public service,) the more eagerly, by my ruins to rise to his long expected fortune. Wherein, by reason of the experience I have heard your Majesty holds him to have in that country, he is like to become my judge, and is already so proud of this plot that he cannot keep himself from bragging of it. But since I dare not presume to trouble you with all my reasons, these being but only lights of them, I humbly desire your Majesty, before you resolve herein, that as it only belongs unto you to be the supreme, you will make yourself only my judge herein, and let whomsoever you will appoint be my actors, for with you I may not, with you I cannot contest, and had rather prove a dumb, though never so unfortunate a creature.*

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxvi. 18.

THE QUEEN TO LORD MONTJOY.

O WHAT malincoly humour hath exhaled up to your brayne, from a full-fraughted hart, that should breede such doubt bred upon no cause geven by vs at all, never having pronounced any syllable whereon such a work should be framed. There is no louder tromp that may sound out your praise, your hazard, your care, your luck, then we haue blasted in all our court and elsewhere in deed. Well, I will attribute it to God's good Providence for you, that (leste all these glories might elevate you to much) he hath suffred (though not made) such a scruple, to keepe you vnder his rod, who best knowes that wee all have more neede of bittes then spurres. Thus, *valeant ista amara! ad Tartaros eat melancholia!*

Your Souueraine,

E. R.

Endorsed—"A copy of her Majesty's lettre, lest you can not reade it." Then, in Lord Montjoy's own hand, "Receaved at Acbraken (?) the — off January, in a packet from Mr. Secretary" [Cecil].*

LORD MONTJOY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

SACRED MAJESTY,

IF darkness be the mother of fearful apprehensions, excuse me that so long have wanted those beams of yours, that only give light and

* Tan. lxxvi. 17. The words in italics are cautious Mr. Secretary's.

lightness to my heart, which cannot but be troubled in so tempestuous a sea, having lost the sight of my only star. But since, by your divine letters I feel the influence, though I see not the heavenly substance, my mind shall sing in the midst of all dangers: for I cannot be so weary, but your voice will make me go cheerfully forwards; nor so sick, but I shall be sound if you bid me be whole. Yet shall I never bid farewell to all bitterness till I kiss your sweet hands, who have only power to lift up or depress my mind, which I have fixed against all other fortunes and armed against all other powers. And, most dear Sovereign, I cannot acknowledge in myself any such swelling thoughts as were fit for Providence to correct; but rather think that fortune will take this little from your otherwise accomplished happiness, that you shall esteem him least that loveth you most, and want the fruits of a matchless faith by not esteeming me, as I am, and ever will be, your truest servant. [MONTJOY].*

Endorsed in the same hand—"From Trim, the — of January, in a packet sent to Mr. Treasurer for Mr. Secretary."

LORD MONTJOY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

S. M.

OUR end is faithfully to serve and please you by working the safety and honour of your coun-

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxvi. 42.

try ; our means, by the most reasonable counsels and uttermost endeavors to labor the advancement of your royal estate and the empairing of your enemies' abilities. The success is without us, and only in the power of God : yet to those that judge by success, and look thorough passion, all counsels are measured by their events, and their actors valued with the gain or loss thereof ; which maketh us, your humble vassals, happy to serve so understanding a prince, that vouchsafeth so graciously to accept our faithful desires and travails, though hitherto void of all effect ; and doth encourage us to advise hereafter with all consideration, and to execute without all fear, since you ask no other account of us but that which is in our powers to give you of our circumspection, adventure, faith, and diligence. Hitherto your army, as it hath been commanded by a worthy head, so the whole body, of how contrary complexion soever the parts be composed, hath conspired with great unity to strengthen itself, the better to serve you, wherein, as yet, there hath been no distemper, neither now any appearance of disease to grow ; only the weak and corrupt parts thereof, that had no other ends but their private gain, cut off by their own feeble resolutions. And since all our crosses, being of so much terror and so little harm, seem to be rather the warnings of a loving father than the punishments of a determined

enemy, we have great reason to hope that God hath done it to purge us of them, and to reserve us to do you the greater service. Your chief and avowed end, which is to affront the army of Spain,* and thereby to secure for this time your own dominions, I doubt not but by God's power shall be done, and your happiness we shall accomplish; whereby the honor, if not the charge, of your preparations will be saved. Whatsoever else you have commanded, I am confident that your constant felicity, and our infinite desires to serve you, will make certain and easy, how uncertain or difficult soever they be. For myself, your humble and truest vassal, as there is no proportion between infinite and finite, so do I esteem even the least of your favors to be infinitely above my deservings, and as much above the most I can receive from any ease; and there shall be no rest in my heart till I have obtained this end, which I have propounded to myself as my chiefest good in this world, to deserve better of you, both by my faith and effects thereof, than any other; and that your royal Majesty may think, as in my own heart I think, myself to be

Your Majesty's truest servant,

[MONTJOY].†

* The Spaniards landed in Ireland, Sept. 23, 1601.

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxvi. 261.

LORD MONTJOY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

SACRED AND MOST DEAR SOVEREIGN,

My desire is to present unto you the thankfulness and affections of my heart with the continual relation of some service performed for you; but, when I have performed anything, it seemeth to me too little to be remembered, when I think of my obligation to your infinite worthiness and precious favor unto me. But though in the infancy of our work we speak like children of small things, yet I hope every day will make our style more strong, until we shall plainly pronounce unto you the confusion of your two enemies, Ambition and Rebellion, in Spain and Ireland. Against both which in them and in all others, and against any mortal power that shall lift itself up against you, if I shall not ever show myself a faithful, industrious, and sharp instrument, let me receive shame in this world, and my soul no rest in any; the first of all mortal plagues I hate, the other above all I desire. And, dear Sovereign, let not others' weakness, malice, or practice stain me in your fair eyes with any spot of disloyalty; for I have ever studied and strived to prevent invasion, to break rebellion, to calm all swelling humors of your subjects, though rather by healing them than by lancing them. And lastly, ever since my charge of this your army, I have endeavored to rectify

all turbulent and wandering spirits from the true scope of their duty to concur with me in this one point; next under God, to have no other hope but in you, nor to hold any dependency but on you. I do know that God will never so forsake me as to suffer me to be any other's than yours: and therefore I do boldly vow, what I do confidently mean, that I will be the last man that shall abandon you, and never but with my life will I leave you; and I will ever strive to be the first that shall wet his sword in the blood of any man that shall be your enemy. The eternal God preserve your Majesty, confound your enemies, and prosper your armies; and send me the happiness to do you the service your own royal heart doth desire, and after to be so blessed as to kiss your fair hands in your gracious favor.

Your Majesty's truest servant,

[MONTJOY].*

From your Majesty's Camp before
Kinsale, the 1st of Nov. 1601.

LORD MONTJOY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.†

SACRED MAJESTY,

IT hath pleased God to preserve your army hitherto through many extremities of danger and enduring, by a continued line of good success unto the greatest victory that ever your forces obtained

* Tan. lxxvi. 266.

† "By Sir H. Davey;" note in Lord Montjoy's hand.

in this kingdom.* Unto God you do owe much, and all that you owe to any ; but more, and infinitely more do I, that by him was used as the weak instrument in so great a work, for so dear a mistress, with so happy event. Yet, when with my own affection I look upon your favors to me, I think nothing is done till all be done ; and even as your own royal heart doth most desire it should be done. The which I was confident to perform when I had some reason to despair ; and continue in the same hope, because I did not trust to the strength of the ground I stand upon, but have lifted up my eyes to those hills *unde venit auxilium mihi*. In the mean time, most royal Sovereign, vouchsafe that I may name you my dearest mistress ; and at the least, if you will not do so, yet to give me leave to esteem myself, as I believe I am,

Your truest servant, M.†

LORD MONTJOY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

SACRED MAJESTY,

ALTHOUGH it be no example to me, that hold no proportion with your infinite worthiness, to conceive what you would and were able to do by your royal presence against any the most powerful or politic army that the greatest monarch could erect,—who am but the weak and unworthy minister of your powers ; yet if I had thought or had not assuredly believed the contrary, that any

* The victory over Tyrone, at Kinsale, 24 Dec. 1601.

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxvi. 269.

thing which I did or consented unto should have given cause to your foes to triumph in your weakness, I would rather have sacrificed my life and all our bloods unto your honor: but until I may have or may obtain your Majesty's leisure to hear a more complete demonstration of what I do now only affirm, I beseech your Majesty to believe that never any prince, since the greatness of Spain, hath gotten more honor against them than you have done by this last action; never any prince in so little time expelled so many of that nation, being settled in a country where they had so great a party; never any army did more improve itself for the honor of their mistress; (that, for an instance of the rest, we did rout beside four thousand natural Spaniards with two thousand English, and overthrow above six thousand rebels and invaders with less than twelve hundred of your subjects;) never articles, the present estate of both your kingdoms considered, were more honorable and profitable, and I think hardly any precedent of so great a pledge as the King of Spain grants to be given for the performance enough;* and lastly, no prince can say that five thousand Spaniards being possessed of four as good havens as are in Christendom, after they had been well beaten and many of them killed, were glad to depart with the passport of one of their

* This letter has undergone so much correction, that it is not easy to determine the writer's meaning.

poorest ministers. This, most dear Sovereign, do not I write with any swelling justification of myself, but in the interest of your honor, the which I will never live to violate, nor suffer it in the least degree to be profaned. If any impious tongue do task my proceedings, as they are mine I will only patiently bless it, that, by making me suffer for your sake, doth increase the merit which is dearest unto me; for I that have suffered for your sake a torment above all others so many years, a grieved and despised love, the ingratitude of my friends, the malice of my enemies, the labors of a most dangerous war, and all the trials that can be required to make good the truest profession of my affection, am even glad that, to accomplish my suffering for your sake, even the merit of all this is taken from me. But since the desert of others is not mine, and therefore unjust for me to conceal it, from whom you should chiefly know it, I most humbly desire your Majesty not to deprive your army from the comfort of their labors, which is your gracious acceptance; and, above the rest, your President of Mounster,* unto whom I owe the testimony of the most sufficient instrument you have in this kingdom, both for his valor and judgment. But for me, what belongs unto me, most dear and royal lady, but the conscience of being your truest servant,

M.†

[Beginning of January 1601-2.]

* Sir George Carew.

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxvi. 270.

LORD MONTJOY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

PARDON me, sacred and dear Sovereign, if I be more jealous than I should of your favour, since the truest love is the fullest of fear, and self-lovers are most confident in their own merit. And since all I can do for so entire a mistress is too little, I do justly punish myself with the grief that I can perform no more; and it is only the mercy proper to your sweet and royal nature that doth approve and comfort me in what I have done. I am glad that I was ill,* since you vouchsafe to be glad of my recovery. I did love my health and life only to do you service, and I will hate my own heart when I find it fallen to you or negligent of your commandments; all which I will sincerely endeavour to fulfil, and not presume to trouble your Majesty now with what I mean to do, but when I have done anything not unworthy of so excellent a direction.† Only this I humbly do affirm, if Spain had not joined with Ireland, the estate of this kingdom had been by this time to your contentment. If Spain do no more assist them, it will be suddenly as you would have it. If you be forced here to make the war with both Spain and Ireland, I can promise nothing but the uttermost use of your poor servant's life;

* He fell sick in April 1602.

† Directrix.

though I hope, with the favor of God, and the help of your royal hand, to beat them both. Dear lady, since all the world are slaves as well to your fortune as to your beauty,* I have only chosen to profess my love in the unsuspected language of faithful labors, dangers, and suffer-

* It must be remembered that Elizabeth was now in her 70th year; and for the proofs of the sincerity of this compliment the reader should refer to vol. i. p. 164. The delicate flattery of Raleigh, and the incessant compliments paid by other courtiers to the Queen, upon the score of her beauty, are generally known. But an instance occurs in a letter of Sir Henry Unton to the Queen, written six years previous to this of Lord Montjoy's, which outstrips all the rest. After relating an account of his interviews with Henry IV. of France, and his introduction to the King's favourite, Madame de Monceaux, whom he takes especial care to disparage, and to insinuate that she was "altered very much for the worse in her complexion and favor, yet very grossly painted," he observes that, after she had withdrawn, the King asked him what he thought of his mistress. "I answered," writes Sir Henry, "sparingly in her praise; and told him that, if without offence I might speak it, that I had the picture of a far more excellent mistress, and yet did her picture come far short of her perfection of beauty. 'As you love me,' said he, 'show it me, if you have it about you.' I made some difficulties, yet, upon his importunity, offered it unto his view very secretly, holding it still in my hand. He beheld it with passion and admiration, saying that I had reason *à me rends*, protesting that he never had seen the like; so with great reverence he kissed it twice or thrice, I retaining it still in my hand. In the end, with some kind of contention, he took it from me, vowing that I might take my leave of it, for he would not forgo it for any treasure; and that, to possess the favor of the lovely picture, he would forsake all the world, and hold himself most happy; with many other most passionate words. Then he did blame me (by whom, he said, he had written many passionate

ings; and will only open my mouth to pray for your eternal happiness; and write no more, but that I know myself to be

Your truest servant,

M.*

From your Camp at Monahan.†

NOTTINGHAM AND CECIL TO MONTJOY.

[Of the Queen's disposition towards the rebels.]

OUR VERY GOOD LORD,

UPON the arrival of these Spanish forces, her Majesty, like a provident prince, beginneth to consider into what length of a war she is like to fall, which is not the thing that so much troubleth her for her own interest, as it doth in regard of the great grief in which she is when she beholdeth how much blood is like to be shed of her so dear and loving subjects. In which consideration she hath commanded us privately to let you know, as one in whose judgment and fidelity she will repose more than ever she did in any

letters, and to whom he had, with such earnestness, recommended his affection, making me his Messiah) in not returning him any reciproke favor from your Majesty; and did complain of your Highness' neglect and disdain of him, which was not the least cause of his discomfort. Whereupon I replied as fit an answer as I could, and as I found his humour more or less apt of apprehension. But I found that the dumb picture did draw on more speech and affection from him than all my best arguments and eloquence."—Murdin, 718.

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxvi. 272.

† The Deputy's camp was at Monaghan, July 19, 1602.

governor of that kingdom, that if the two traitors, Tyrone and O'Donnell, despairing that this army, which is landed, shall be able to prevail, or misliking that they have planted themselves in Munster, so far from them as not to be able to give them other assistance than by way of diversion, whereof it shall likewise appear unto them that they shall find no great fruits, seeing the northern prosecution shall still be in some measure continued, shall either of themselves be stirred in weariness of misery, or under hand can be wrought by such as they may find to speak only for their own good, and offer such submission and a course of proceeding as may show their resolution to quit this foreign party, with offer of obedience upon any such terms as you shall think may be tolerable for the Queen to receive, and may break absolutely confidence between this foreign enemy and them; in this case, though heretofore her Majesty would have stood upon more precise terms with them, yet now her Majesty is contented, for the good of her people, to commit to you the order and rule of their case, and to see what they will be brought unto. And therein, as we do know that whatsoever you shall think meet to advise her unto, she will never be unwilling to follow, so we are commanded to let you know, that if you shall be forced to conclude with them for effecting of any so important service by them, or any other person in like case,

which will not admit a delay to send hither for directions, her Majesty will in no sort disavow your act, but ratify and confirm the same. In this case you may use the advice of the Lord President,* if you please, and suffer what ministers you think fittest to deal with them. But her Majesty, not knowing the success, is not disposed to open to any other in that kingdom that she is yet acquainted with your dealing. And thus, for this time, we commit your lordship to God's favorable protection.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

NOTINGHAM,

Ro. CECYLL.†

From the Court at Richmond, this 6th of Oct. 1601.

To the Right Honorable our very good lord, the
Lord Montjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Endorsed by the hand of Montjoy's secretary—"Received 1st November, by the post of Bristow. From Mr. Secretary Cecyll."

TYRONE ‡ TO LORD MONTJOY.

[Professing an absolute submission.]

RIGHT HONORABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I AM given to understand that you have rejected my last letter of submission sent to you, and therefore have caused the same to be sent to me again, because you did perceive I did

* Of Munster, see p. 36.

Orig. Tan. lxxvi. 263.

‡ The Irish traitor referred to in the previous letter. See a further notice of him in the Memoirs, p. 93.

not make therein an absolute submission. I am sorry your lordship did mistake my meaning, for that which I did write did proceed from a penitent heart for the offences by me committed, and from an earnest desire to obtain her Majesty's mercy; and to that end I do now again make bold to send to your lordship bearing her Majesty's place, whose merciful nature I know, though I am not worthy to crave her mercy; and therefore, without standing upon any terms or conditions, I do hereby both simply and absolutely submit myself to her Majesty's mercy, and will be ready to perform either such conditions as were offered me by the Lord of Ormond, or any other her Majesty shall think fit, so as I may recover her Majesty's favor; for the obtaining whereof I humbly pray your lordship to be a mean, as before I did write, that I be not driven into utter despair, and forced either to fly or seek to any other prince. And, in so doing, I will become a new man, and will pray for her Majesty's prosperity, and will truly serve her the rest of my life. So I humbly take leave, the 22d of December 1602.

Your lordship's, if you please,

HUGH TYRONE.*

Endorsed in a different hand from Lord Montjoy's, but probably by his secretary,—“Copie of Tyrone's lettre to the Lord Deputy.”

* Tan. lxxvi. 277.

BY THE QUEEN.

[In answer to Tyrone's submission.]

ELIZABETH R.

RIGHT trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have seen the submission made by Tyrone which you have sent us, and perceive the course which you have taken thereupon, which hath been to give no such credit to his words, either in deed or appearance, as upon those fair pretexts to give over any other good means of his prosecution; which if you should have done upon this overture, the same effect might follow which hath done before, when in the instant of his submission he hath been deepest in practice; in which respects we acknowledge that you have proceeded very discretely. And now to speak of the course he holdeth. We conceive the world hath seen sufficiently how dear the conservation of that kingdom and people hath been unto us, and how precious we have been of our honor, that have of late rejected so many of those offers of his, only because we were sorry to make a precedent of facility to show grace or favor to him that hath been the author of so much misery to our loving subjects. Nevertheless, because it seemeth that this is a general conceipt that this reduction may prove profitable to the state by sparing the effusion of Christian

blood, (the preventing whereof Christian piety teacheth us,) and because the manner of the submission maketh the best amends that penitency can yield to offences against sovereignty, (if amends there can be after so horrible treasons,) we are content to lay aside any thing that may [be] herein contrary [to] our own private affections, and will consider that clemency hath as eminent a place in supreme authority as justice and severity. And, therefore, to the intent that either the effect may fall out which is expected by his submission, or the ingrafted falsehood and corruption of his nature may declare itself, we are content, and so we give you authority hereby, to assign him a day with all expedition to make his personal repair to you; where we require you to be careful to preserve our dignity in all circumstances, assuring him, that seeing he referreth all absolutely to our grace and mercy, where we would never have yielded that if he had kept his former courses of presumption to indent with us beforehand, we are now contented that you do let him know he shall have his life, and receive, upon his coming in, such other conditions as shall be honorable and reasonable for us to grant him. And thus much for that which he shall need to know before his coming in; which if he do accept without any other particular promise procured from you beforehand, then could we like it very well

that you should make stay of him in safe custody until you hear our further pleasure; whose meaning is, not to break our word in the point of his life, for which it is only given, but only to suspend his liberty till we see whether any conditions which shall leave him free again to return as he came, can make us in better state than we are now, when we shall have nothing to trust to but the ordinary assurances which can be had from traitors. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf.

Given under our signet at our Manor of Richmond, the xvi. of February 1602, in the five and fortieth year of our reign.

To our right trusty and well-beloved the Lord Montioye,
our Deputy of our realm of Ireland.

Signed by the Queen, with the seal appended. Endorsed by Lord Montjoy—"From her Majesty; received the 2nd off Marche 1602." *

CECIL TO MONTJOY.

[How he is to manage the Queen.]

MY GOOD LORD,

You may still see how glad we would be to believe words when they make for our desires in the world (be we of private or public qualities); where, on the other side, in things not liked,

* Tan. lxxvi. 280. Orig.

oaths and vows are often excepted against by us, out of the just reasons which we see of constant prejudice when our desires make us not too credulous. In this case standeth it with our dear Sovereign, who being almost in conflict with herself how to terrify future traitors, when so horrible a traitor is received, especially upon any condition, he pretending to ask none, doth *ponere rumores ante salutem*; seeing only how she descends (a little in one point only), but sees not what by it she riseth up otherwise, especially if (upon these points) God do her the favor to stay the rebellion. From hence, therefore, cometh this her Majesty's postscript by me, (for so I may term it, because it succeedeth the perclose of the letters,) the effect whereof followeth, but so carried as it taketh nothing from your former power given in her own letter, though it recommends to you (if it might be without overthrow of greater considerations,) the accomplishing thereof. In which, as I could not avoid obedience to deliver it unto you, being with that reservation as not to overthrow the main; so, my lord, I know you would satisfy her in it too, if you could, and I hope, both for your own discharges and mine, will take notice of your own desire to have done all you could in this nature, and of your reception of my letter, which form will satisfy them, because she is not presently crossed, and so her passion, by little and little, towards him

spending, will give way when she sees by experience what will be returned in these things, which now she still insists upon to be moved as not impossible (if it be tried), at least not inconvenient to impose, if it can be gotten (straight opposing their opinions which deny now that the effect will prove so,) with the words of his own submission, of which all too know he will look to be explained *per civilem interpretationem*. Shortly, therefore, her Majesty desires you should seek by all the best means you can to promise him pardon; but by no name of Tyrone hereafter, for that name she saith is ominous and odious, and rather she would have him named Baron of Dongannon, or (if need must be) some other earl's name, but not Earl of Tyrone. Secondly, sir, she would be glad it might not be found that he should have that country so large as he either claimeth or made it, but to see how *honoris gratia* you can pare it. Lastly, that where he makes many artificial plashes in pairs, to hinder passages, thereby to live less accessible, she would have him enjoined to alter them. Now, sir, know, I pray you hereby, that this is her own, and neither our propositions nor conceipt; but rather suffered *pro tempore* than we would lose the former warrant, by contesting too long against that which will die as soon as she is satisfied from you that we have obeyed her, and that you find the impossibility of these things

which she would be glad of, but so as not to prevent the rest; and, therefore, now I have done all and said all, I know in these last I have said nothing, and yet in obeying I have done much. And so hoping, by your next despatch, you will write that which is fit to be shewed her Majesty, and that which is fit for me to know (*a parte*), in which kinds all honest servants must strain a little when they will serve princes, I end.

Your lordship's affectionate friend to command.

18th of February, 1602.

You see that though I know what your answer will be for these things, yet that I adventure to write my conceipt, how you should satisfy, by writing that you would have done it if it would not have hurt the whole. I would not do this to two men living, and under my hand to no man, if otherwise it should be. If, therefore, you will, for accidents unlooked for, return this my letter, I will thank you; your warrants for that which you must do, or can do, remaining under her own hand.

Endorsed in Lord Montjoy's hand—"From Mr. Secretarye; receaved the 2nd off Marche 1602." Not in Cecil's hand, but in the same as that of Queen Elizabeth's letter, p. 28.*

* Tan. lxxvi. 277.

ELIZABETH R.

Right trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. Forasmuch as we (in our former letter) have made you see that we do not retain so deep an impression of the heinous offences committed by Tyrone (for which he hath made himself unworthy to live), but that we can be content to yield him a life to save so many of our subjects: and although we would take it for an acceptable service, if he might be taken *in* so, by the words of his *late* submission, as we might have him in our power without violating of public faith; yet rather than we would, for our own satisfaction, let go any such opportunity as his personal submission, (whereof universality of opinions concur that good use might be made,) we can be content, if he shall come in upon such humble terms as are *formally* contained in his submission, that you *shall not only* receive him as is expressed in the other letter; but forasmuch as it may be, when the time comes to perform what he hath promised, he may *particularly* stand upon assurance of liberty *also*, as well as life, before he *will* come to you, we are *then* contented that you do in that case give him your word for his coming and going *safe, though you should in other things not agree*. And for your better judgment and knowledge how in such case we mean to dispose, we do give you warrant hereby to pass him our pardon upon these conditions.

First, our pleasure is, upon no consideration to give him our pardon except he do come personally where you shall assign him to receive it.

Secondly, that, in the point of religion, he presume not to indent; seeing it savors but of presumption, when he knows so little fear of prosecution.

Thirdly, he shall publicly abjure all manner of dependency upon Spain *and other potentates*, and shall promise to you to reveal all he knows of our enemy's purposes, *and refuse the name of Oneill*.

Fourthly, he shall not presume to treat for any but himself and his own natural followers of Tyrone; but shall leave all others, (over whom he unjustly usurps, either *as vriaths*, or *as dependents*, and over whom he can challenge no superiority but as a chosen head of rebellion,) *and absolutely, to make their own suits for themselves*.

He shall yield to such places for garrisons, and such portions of lands and composition besides [?] to be reserved as you shall think fit for our service; with this condition, to banish all strangers from him, and call home all his followers that do maintain the rebellion in any other province, together with such a subjection to sheriffs, and execution of justice, as you shall think fit for our service and the present time.

And, as heretofore, he offered to send over his eldest son, *if you can get it*, to be disposed at our pleasure, either in Ireland or in England. All

which being done, we leave the rest of your proceedings to your own best judgment, so to dispose of him in one kind or other as shall be fittest for our service. This being our end in the writing of both these letters : first, to let you see what we wish to be done, if it may be, in the first kind, as is contained in our other letter ; next, to let it appear to you and the world, that seeing there is so general a conceipt that good may happen thereby, that we will not leave any course untried which can be expected of any prince to take in commiseration of her distressed and loving subjects of both her realms, whose conservation she preferreth before any other worldly thing. Lastly, because we do consider that his being nearer with you for some time (if it could be procured) would be a good security from those practices, which may be doubted he may fall into when he returneth, (seeing how common it is to them to neglect either faith or pledges when the breach of any conditions may serve their turn,) we do only recommend unto you, that, the longer he doth remain under your wing, it were the better : but because we do confess that we remain assured of your affection to use all things to the best for us, and see that you have extraordinary foresight and judgment in the government of that realm, we do attribute so much to you in the handling of this matter, as we leave it and the rest of the particular conditions (mentioned in the former

letter, *or in this*,) to your discretion, who may see cause to vary in some circumstances, which are not worthy the sending us to know our pleasure in, but to be altered as you shall see cause. Only in these two letters we show you two things: in the first, of [the] 16th of February, our desire appears to have him stayed if he would come in without asking more than yet he doth; and in this other, our resolution (rather than he should not come in at all) to give you authority to secure him both of life and liberty, and coming in upon those terms, both to maintain your word really, (as it is given in our behalf, and which shall never be violated,) and, rather than to send him back unpardoned to be a head still of rebellion, to afford him these *above-mentioned*, or other reasonable conditions, considering the long work you find it to extirpate him, and the difficulty our estate findeth to maintain that action which must finish it. For the rest, concerning some enlargement of your authority, in case you see occasion to encrease [the council] at any time [by] some members; we minded not to tye you to such strictness in petty things, having committed so much trust to you in greater: and therefore we have given order to our council to direct our letters to the treasurer for the same, and hereby do give you authority *to do it*, and to use the advice of as many or as few of the council *in this* as you shall think fit to do in this service; requiring you, above all

things, to drive him to some issue presently, because contrariety of successes there, or change of accidents in other parts, may turn very much to our disadvantage. For which we are still apt to believe that he lieth in advantage, and will spin out all things further than were requisite, with delays and shifts, if you do not abridge him.

Given at our manor of Richmond, this 17 of Feb. 1602, and of our reign the 45.*

To our right trusty and well-beloved Lord Montjoye,
our Deputy, [of our] Realm of Ireland.

Endorsed in Lord Montjoy's hand—"From her Majestye; receaved the 2d off Marche 1602. For the taking in of Tyrone."

[The words in italics are corrections, whether or not by the same hand I am uncertain; they rather appear to be in the Deputy's hand. After this letter follows an abstract, in Lord Montjoy's hand, of the conditions he was required by the Queen to offer and receive from Tyrone.]

TYRONE TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD
DEPUTY OF IRELAND.†

RIGHT HONORABLE, my duty remembered. I have oftentimes heretofore, both by my messages and letters, been an humble suitor unto your lordship to be a mean to her Majesty to receive me into her gracious favor, and to grant unto me her Highness' pardon, which, above all earthly

* Tan. lxxvi. 285; Orig. signed and sealed.

† Orig. Tan. lxxvi. p. 291.

things, I do desire, even upon my knees; acknowledging mine offences to be such as I am unworthy to be pardoned, but yet still remembering that her Majesty's mercy exceeds my ill doings. To this end I sent after your lordship as far as Galway, in December last, my humble submission, which proceeded from a penitent heart; and ever since that time I have lived in hope of mercy: and, seeing my answers yet delayed, and that I can receive no manner of comfort, notwithstanding I have since that time continued no messages to your lordship, I thought good once again to write to your lordship; and do hereby beseech you, of your nobility and honor, to take compassion upon me, that I be not cast into an utter despair to forsake my native country, but may feel her Majesty's grace; in hope that I may hereafter, by my service, redeem some part of mine offences. And, to the end your lordship may perceive how earnest a desire I bear to become a subject, I do entreat your lordship either to allow myself to come to speak with your lordship upon your word in some such place as I may be in safety, or to send me some honest gentleman of my acquaintance (as your lordship shall think fit) with whom I may confer, and to whom I may deliver my mind, which is wholly bent to do anything that is fitting for a good subject; so as I may find her Majesty's grace and recover her favour, which by my evil courses I have justly lost. And so,

beseeching your lordship to send me some comfortable answer, I take my leave. From Glancoukeine,* the 29th of March 1603.

Your honor's to command,

HUGHE TIRONE.

Endorsed in the hand of Montjoy's secretary—"29 March 1603, stylo novo; rec. 23 March, stylo veteri; & 1602, computatione Anglorum."

1603.

[Death of Queen Elizabeth.]†

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MR. DOCTOR DUN,

DEANE OF THE ARCHES, AT BREAME‡ IN GERMANY.

SIR,

My humble duty unto you remembered. By reason of a restraint of late for sending over of

* Gleanchaoin in Co. Clare.

† The following account of the death of the Queen is, in all probability, as authentic as any we possess. It is preserved in the MS. diary of a writer who lived upon terms of intimacy with Dr. Parry, one of the Queen's chaplains, afterwards successively Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester.

"23 March 1603. I dined with Dr. Parry in the privy-chamber, and understood by him, the Bishop of Chichester, the Dean of Canterbury, the Dean of Windsor, &c. that her Majesty had been, by fits, troubled with melancholy some three or four months, but for this fortnight extreme oppressed with it; insomuch that she refused to eat any thing, to receive any physic, or admit any rest in bed till within these two or three days. She hath been in a manner speechless for two days; very pensive and silent since Shrovetide; sitting sometimes with her eye fixed upon one object many hours to-

‡ Bremen.

letters, (the sickness of our late Queen being the cause,) I durst not write unto you, nor have sithence the ix. of this instant March, which letters I hope you have received.

Her Majesty God took to his mercy, the 23rd of this present, in the night time, at Richmond; and King James was proclaimed the next morning, being the 24th, as may appear by the proclamation, which here inclosed I send you, without any controversy: yet many men in the city

gether; yet she always had her perfect senses and memory: and yesterday signified, by the lifting up of her hand and eyes to heaven (a sign which Dr. Parry entreated of her), that she believed that faith which she hath caused to be professed, and looked faithfully to be saved by Christ's merits and mercy only, and no other means. She took great delight in hearing prayers; would often, at the name of Jesus, lift up her hands and eyes to heaven. She would not hear the Archbishop speak of hope of her longer life; but when he prayed, or spoke of heaven and those joys, she would hug his hand. It seems she might have lived if she would have used means; but she would not be persuaded, and princes must not be forced. Her physicians said she had a body of a firm and perfect constitution, likely to have lived many years. A royal majesty is not privilege against death.

"24. This morning, about 3 at clock, her Majesty departed this life, mildly, like a lamb; easily, like a ripe apple from the tree; *cum levi quadam febre: absque gemitu*. Dr. Parry told me that he was present, and sent his prayers before her soul. And I doubt not but she is amongst the royal saints in heaven in eternal joys.

"About 10 at clock, the council and divers noblemen, having been awhile in consultation, proclaimed James VI, King of Scotland, the King of England, France, and Ireland; beginning at Whitehall gates, where Sir Robert Cecil read the proclama-

in arms, and more affrayed than hurt. It was known, a se'night before her decease, that there was no hope of recovery to be expected; insomuch that many men, both noble and others, have made very great provision of armor, munition, and victuals; so that meal was sold in London, the 23rd of March, at viii s. the bushel, and the 25th of the same, at 4s. 4d. And now there is very great hope of a peaceable coming in of our King, contrary to the expectation of many. It is thought

tion, which he carried in his hand, and after read again in Cheapside: many noblemen, lords spiritual and temporal, knights, five trumpets, many heralds. The gates at Ludgate and portcullis were shut and down, by the Lord Mayor's command, who was there present with the aldermen, &c. And until he had a token beside promise,—the Lord Treasurer's George,—that they would proclaim the King of Scots King of England, he would not open them. * * * *

“The proclamation was heard with great expectation and silent joy; no great shouting. I think the sorrow for her Majesty's departure was so deep in many hearts, they could not so suddenly show any great joy, though it could not be less than exceeding great for the succession of so worthy a King; and at night they showed it by bonfires and ringing. No tumult, no contradiction, no disorder in the city; every man went about his business as readily, as peaceably, as securely, as though there had been no change, nor any news ever heard of competitors.

“The people is full of expectation, and great with hope of his worthiness, of our nations' future greatness; every one promises himself a share in some famous action to be hereafter performed for his prince and country. They assure themselves of the continuance of our church government and doctrine. Their talk is of the advancement of the nobility, of the subsidies and fifteenths taxed in the Queen's times; how much indebted she died to the commons, notwithstanding all those charges laid upon them.”

that his Majesty will be here afore Easter next. The Lord Evers' brother, Mr. Moris, Mr. Secretary Herbert's man, and myself, went to Sir Robert Cecill the 25th of March, to understand his pleasure about your coming home; and his answer was, that he would think upon it. And the same day, in the afternoon, Mr. Morris and I went to the Lord Treasurer, who, together with the rest of the nobility, had (as it seemed) conferred in the morning concerning you and the rest of the commissioners, and his answer was, that they would write unto you; signifying further (as far as we could gather by his words) that they had no determination to send for you home until they first understood the King's pleasure therein. * * * All things are very quiet here at this time, and the common people so well satisfied and so joyful as ever they were, hoping of a flourishing common wealth. The Earl of Northumberland beginneth to flourish already. The Countess of Nottingham died of late. * * *

Your worship's always most bounden,

SIMON THELOAL.*

London, this 26th of March 1603.

* Orig. Tan. lxxv. 79.

1603.

[History of the bye plot, or, as it is called, Raleigh's plot ; and the execution of the conspirators.]

WILLIAM WATSON* TO THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

RIGHT HONORABLE AND MY MOST RESPECTED LORDS,

Although unknown to you all by sight, unless my ever honorable friend, Sir George Home, Treasurer of Scotland, yet too, too well known by name to you, and all the world, through means of a late proclamation come out against me most wrongfully, as God and his angels, yea, and even my greatest enemies, that falsely have suggested this against me, shall witness : I have hereupon (being apprehended upon suspicion by the bearer, Mr. Henry Vaughan, Esq. and Justice of Peace and Quorum,) made choice of your honours before all others in this my presumption to address the ensuing discovery unto, with the accusation of the guilty and clearing of the innocent ; as also a letter to be delivered by you unto his Majesty : nothing doubting but that, out of your own

* “ The letter of Watson (the Quodlibetarian), written with his own hand, directed to the Right Honorable the E. E. of ———without any names added ; without date too ; but endorsed 10 Aug. 1603, when perhaps it was received.”—Note in Archbishop Sancroft's hand.—Watson was one of the persons supposed to be implicated in the plot. How far will best appear by his own letter. See also Goodman's Memoirs, p. 64.

honorable dispositions, and for that special loyalty I ever conceited to be in you all, and every of you, to his Majesty, you will procure a speedy dispatch for me, either to be employed in his Majesty's service here, or elsewhere ; or if for mine unworthiness I be rejected, that at least for my loyalty, and known poor good-will to have always used all possible diligence (agreeing to my *posse*) on his Majesty's behalf, you will vouchsafe me that honorable favor as to procure a present extent of the King's most ample and gracious pardon towards me thus far, as that I may spend the residue of my wretched days in exile and banishment out from my native country for evermore. Which though mine own conscience assures me that I never deserved so sharp a censure, yet, finding iniquity to have prevailed so far, as that even his Majesty's known enemies can conspire his death, and utter extirpation of his royal issue, and without all fear or blushing (like the devil himself) lay their treasons and treacheries to my charge, and thereupon procure either my death or a worse matter (which is torture, famine, and pining imprisonment) ; notwithstanding that, I dare speak a great word, and am known to many thousands to speak true, that there never any was, or is, more loyal to his Majesty than I am, and have been ; never any that hazarded their lives more willingly, nor farther, for his sake ; as being imprisoned, having all I had taken

from me, and hardly escaping with my life out of prison in Queen Elizabeth's days, only upon a like calumny to this, which they then informed some great persons in authority of, as that I went about to bring in the Lord Dacre out of Scotland with 30,000 men to invade this land. Neither was there any that spoke or writ more resolutely and boldly on his Majesty's behalf than I did that time; as the first and only one of my coat and profession that broke the ice against Parsons' book of succession, and against all the rest of the Jesuits, and Spanish faction, concerning the Lady Infanta's title to the crown of England, and in conclusion broke their necks thereby; by prosecuting his Majesty's cause and title so eagerly (where I durst), that the former settled conceit of the Spanish title was generally exploded by all, unless where Jesuits and the faction lay. Many, not only Catholics, but even also those noted and known to be Protestants, reported some to be Puritans, yet did take notice of my poor endeavours on his Majesty's behalf therein, as one whom they acknowledged, in their opinion, had deserved more at my sovereign's hands than ever I expect or can desire. But to the purpose: although I wish for either violent or civil death (which is banishment), rather than to die of famine and pining imprisonment by the Jesuits' and others of mine enemies' procurement; yet, not doubting of justice, (and withal hoping of extra-

ordinary favor [and mercy] at his Majesty's hands by your honors' procurement,) I will set down here in brief the original cause of this slandering and appeaching of me and others with treason, &c. and who the traitors are indeed, and what witnesses I have of it, and what I have done myself, and how far gone therein: reserving the rest to his Majesty's sacred wisdom, and your honorable censure, to judge of all aright.

After my last being with his Majesty in Scotland, reporting to my Lord Dacre, and some other of his honorable friends, then at Dumfries, what a gracious and comfortable answer I had received at his hands on the behalf of all Catholics known to be his loyal subjects; I returned thence presently into England, longing much to drive all doubtful conceits and dangerous attempts, tending to disloyalty, out of all English, but especially all Catholic hearts. And, first of all, meeting with one of my company in the north, being asked what hope there was of the King concerning Catholics, I answered, very good; and that his Majesty did bid me tell my friends, the Catholics in England, that himself was neither heretick, as Parsons and other Jesuits had blazed him to be; neither would he afflict [them] as they had been: and therefore wished them by me not to be afraid, &c. Then he replied, and asked what assurance Catholics could have of any favor, unless the King would be Catholic. For, as to

my report, I had been always suspected to be too forward on the King's behalf, and rather in policy to draw all Catholics to hope well, and to have a good conceit that the King would be either presently Catholic, or at least proclaim liberty of conscience: by which temporising it was doubted by some that I had deceived many. But, howsoever, the time serving now for it, and it standing upon Catholics, either before the coronation, or not at all, to procure to themselves quiet and redemption from their bondage and suppression in Queen Elizabeth's days; adding farther, that undoubtedly the Jesuits and archpriest,* with his Jesuitical assistants, would upon the sudden, and at time least looked for, so soon as ever they were prepared for it, send out excommunications against all that should take part against the Spaniard and his associates, &c. And, therefore, he asked me what he should do in that case; and if it were not best for him to go and warn all the Catholics and schismatics in those two shires beforehand to be in a readiness to resist, and not to accept any such excommunication when it came; nor of such, or such, as were like enough in his judgment to work underhand with persuading to acceptance of it, &c. To this I answered, that he should do well to move them so; and, withal, upon such an occasion to exhort and prepare them beforehand to join all together

* Dr. Blackwell.

under some Catholic head, or captain of note, on the King's behalf, making religion and loyalty all one intent and action. And much talk we had to this effect, but this is the brief; where-with I left him well satisfied: but not so as by reason of the general jealousy the Jesuits had caused to be had of me, yea, even among some otherwise of my dear friends. I was constrained both with that party and divers others, (as hereafter shall appear,) sometimes to affirm by insinuation on the King's behalf, as well in respect of religion as of the common wealth, more than ever his Majesty delivered unto me; and sometimes again to make show of advancements to come unto them, and otherwhile to yield unto their humours in one thing, to draw them on to another thing to my wish and desire; imitating herein the Jesuits' policies in like cases on the Spaniard's behalf.

After this I departed towards the south; where, on the way, at Doncaster, I met with a gentleman, an earnest prosecutor of his Majesty's cause at all times, who, very glad of my return to hear some news out of Scotland, told me, amongst other things, that a letter was newly intercepted, directed from one Pool, as he named himself, to the Archduke's court; the contents whereof was, that 40,000 men were ready to rise in arms for restoring of religion, and bringing his grace aid to make a conquest of the land. What became

of this letter, I know not; or whether the discovery of the Jesuits' intendments, or that other which happened, of a prepared commotion in Worcester and Staffordshire, (the discovery whereof was sent unto me into Scotland, to have exhibited unto his Majesty, and as also sundry other letters came, which I received not, because come thence before,) or a third commotion prepared in Wales, and discovered also, and thereby infringed, or what other cause was of the Jesuits' demur, I know not: but, within two days after, I understood how sundry of them had been tampering with Catholics in those quarters, to dissuade them from acceptance of the King's Majesty; that they ought all rather to die than to admit of any hereticks (as they continually term his Majesty) to the crown; and that they might not, under pain of excommunication, accept of any but a Catholic for their sovereign. This was hot for a while; but presently, after these discoveries, finding Catholics fearful and cold in acting their treacherous designments, they begin to turn cat in the band,* and to cast about another way, as hereafter shall appear.

Amongst those Jesuits thus suddenly hot and cold, one (who calleth himself Darcy), having of long time, together with Gerard, another Jesuit, been often tampering underhand, and by mes-

* Cat in the pan ?

sages, with a worshipful knight to have won him to their * to have stood for the Lady Infanta, promising great and many noble advancements unto him if he would, on the Spaniards' behalf. All which discourses, from time to time, in Queen Elizabeth's days, the said knight relating unto me at large; and withal how that he had discovered himself so far in dislike of their unnatural projects, and asserting of our new sovereign's title, as he feared it would work his utter overthrow, by reason that he perceived even then how that her Majesty, and his former honorable friends about her, estranged their grace and favors from him, and, withal, began to call his name in question; which he knew could not be, but by some false-hearted Jesuit's suggestions and means. To this I answered, that he had done very well to open himself so far in opposition unto them; knowing, as he did, their vile and treacherous minds to be such as they will betray their own father and dearest friend they have in the world for their own advantage, and *propter bonum publicum societatis*, which they count a public or common good; though a whole commonwealth, yea, and the whole Catholic church be overthrown thereby. But now the only way was for him to insinuate himself by all means possible unto them, as by way of an umpire to make

* Sic: though, from something written over, the word should apparently be *way* or *bent*.

atonement between them and us; and so should he get within them per force, to lead them and their faction where he would when time should come to do our new sovereign service. Which time happening presently after, although he first, and another afterward, and lastly myself in my return out of Scotland, talked with, some one, some another Jesuit, and three of us at several times with the aforesaid Darcy, to whom I alleged divers reasons, acknowledged by him to be good and sound, why there should be an atonement between us; but in conclusion nothing was agreed upon, because they had such treasonable practices in hand, as they knew we would never join in with them; and so the conferences between some of ours, and Gerard, Holtby, and Darcy, the Jesuits, ended only in a breach.

Some fortnight after, (which was at Easter last,) coming up to London, I there fell in talk with an honorable gentleman and my very friend, that came to welcome me home out of Scotland, and to know what news; because (as he said) he had sent unto me by three sundry persons, a lord, a knight, and an esquire, none of which could hear of me. Notwithstanding that he had received a most gracious letter from his Majesty, whereby he understood I had been in presence: I told him I had; and using the like speech as I had done to all others of his gracious speech unto me, how wise, merciful, and just a prince we had, void of

all vices or other moral faults, unless such as proceed of too flexible and sweet a princely nature; which could be no fault in a prince, save only where evil counsellors were about him, who doubtless might endanger him by too much lenity to some, by too great severity to others, and by too extraordinary partiality to others again, at the counsel's persuasion. But in few I told him how Sir George Home, Lord Treasurer of Scotland, told me, at my coming away, how his Majesty liked well of my message and speech, and bid me come again when any occasion should be offered. "That was well," quoth this noble gentleman, "and I think you shall have occasion very shortly to do his Majesty service; if, in the meantime, you have any acquaintance yourself, or know of any such friend of yours, that is thoroughly acquainted with a sergeant at law who can tell you matters worth the knowing and revealing in time of need. For since Queen Elizabeth's death, and the proclaiming of our sovereign King James, there hath been a meeting of sundry noblemen, that have had private conference, and, as I take it, already subscribed to the setting up of another prince, with the utter extirpation of our lawful King and rightful heir, together with all his royal issue. The party that told me this (whom you, quoth he, do also know,) doth not remember the noblemen's names, and dares not ask the sergeant again of them, lest he suspect he have some mean-

ing to call him in question for it; and therefore must it be very warily handled." But afterward, understanding by report of some that the sergeant was suspected to be Jesuited, I could not devise the means to come in with him myself, nor any other whom I might trust in so weighty an affair.

Shortly after his Majesty came to London, and in tract of time discontents began so to discover themselves, as none could tell whom to trust, or who was pleased: it were too tedious and impertinent to the matter to recite all that I have heard of discontented minds since his Majesty's coming to the Charter-house to the present hour. Amongst others, this concerns myself. One sent me word how, that if I would join with him, and withal make him of my council in my proceedings, for those matters which he was to inform me of, he would pawn his life for it that he could and would discover such treasons of two honorable persons of the privy council to Queen Elizabeth, and two of the greatest enemies I had in the world, and all for King James's sake, as I would admire how ever such great men should so eagerly seek my destruction; and that, since the time I first began to defend the King's title in writing against the Jesuits and Spanish faction, I walked in a mist, as all the rest of the secular priests appellants did, who were traduced by those noblemen whom we took to have stood wholly for us

against the Jesuits and Spanish faction ; whereas, indeed, it was quite contrary, as he said ; adding further, that there was now of late a book published for the French title to the crown of England, and fathered upon the appellant priests, which, as I take it, he said himself had seen : wishing me to live very warily, for there were no few watchful eyes over me. And for his part, he confessed he had heretofore betrayed me, and brought my life in danger for my faithful heart unto his Majesty ; but he was so urged unto it as he had endangered his own if I had not been then taken. But afterwards, hearing how contrary to all expectation I had cleared myself, and God had wonderfully delivered me, he then was heartily sorry for accusing and betraying me so unjustly ; and of mere remorse of conscience, knowing my innocency, he had since refused £2000 or £3000, or I know not how much, as he saith, because he would not seek my blood, as was motioned that he should. To this effect he sent me word, offering himself to approve all this, with much more, before his Majesty. About the same time another told me, how that his Majesty was heartily conceited of me, and that I was suspected to stand for the French. And a very friend of mine, ever most deeply affected to his Majesty, came to me in the streets, and asked me in what terms I stood with his Majesty. I answered, “Very good, for ought I know ; that I rested in mine

own conceit most certain and assured of it, because of his princely gratitude, even to the meanest (as I am), and by reason of my innocency towards him." Whereunto the gentleman replied, that it was very true, and that he did not think his Majesty could or would forget me; he himself, though an earnest Protestant, yet offering to avow it on my behalf, that none was ever more faithful and loyal to defend his rightful title than I was, &c. The like said a very worshipful knight of mine acquaintance, and divers others to the same effect, which made me muse what the matter was, and how I should be traduced; but made no great matter of it, because I thought it to be but some Jesuitical rumour for some vile intendment against me, as after it proved: they making this a color of my intended villanous mind, as they most falsely have informed against me, that out of a malcontented mind, and seeing myself rejected, and not advanced as I expected, I thereupon fell into desperate courses and traitorous attempts against his Majesty's person. But God, who hath ever hitherto protected and defended me, even from innumerable and some seeming inevitable dangers, *à jeunesse mée*, hath provided this good means for my purgation to his Majesty before your honors, which otherwise I should have despaired of; knowing too well what great enemies I have in court, the least whereof is too, too heavy for me, poor worm! to bear, if but in

the breath or blast of your mouth against me. And therefore thus it followeth.

In Easter term, amongst others that came up to London, one was the gentleman who suspected how the Jesuits had traduced him in Queen Elizabeth's days, and who, after divers conferences by him and others with Gerard and Darcy, was at length half persuaded they meant *bonâ fide* to join really in any action for restoring of religion by any lawful means ; but, contrary to his expectation, they most fraudulently went about to entrap him, and writ a letter back unto him quite contrary to their former speech. A most treacherous letter it was ; and as he told me, when he showed the letter unto me, there was not a word in it consonant to his speech and Davies with Gerard's had together. Which when I heard, and, withal, had thoroughly considered of the contents of that letter, I told him he had undone himself, and all his acquaintance and friends : for the issue could be none other but this, that the Jesuits having some treasonable practice in hand, which they would not impart unto him, they would take advantage against him and his by this letter, in such sort, that if their treasons came to effect before discovery, then down should go all the appellant priests, and those that sided with them on their sovereign's behalf ; again, if it were discovered, they would then cast it upon his back, and upon all the secular priests,

but upon mine in chief, as now they have. But to proceed.

About the same time that this letter was showed unto me, one came and told me how the Jesuits had sent down from London into the country great store of powder and shot, securely conveyed to their friends; wishing them not to stir, but to keep themselves quiet until they heard from them. The same party, also, who showed me the letter, told me he had advantage enough against them, (and they none at all against him, whatsoever my conceipt were of that letter,) as well by their former plots, whereof he had testimony in writing, and which were yet suspected to be in hammering, as also by their then present proceedings; for that notwithstanding their show in that letter, that butter would not melt in their mouth, yet was he privy to it how at the same time Gerard was in buying of a great horse for the wars, and had, with help of his friends, under pretence of teaching a young lord to ride, bought up all the great horses he could throughout the country. So as it is manifest that they intend some sudden exploit yet, before Midsummer, or so shortly after as they can be provided, if not before discovered and prevented. The presumption hereof, and suspicion of some treason to be intended by them, was augmented as well by reports that went of a sermon or speech which the president of Douay, one Doctor Worthington, made in some reviling

terms against his Majesty, with extolling the name and title of another competitor to the crown, whom if God did bless, and awhile preserve, he made no doubt but should prevail; as also for that a certain Jesuited person, being in company with honorable lords, whereof some or all seemed much discontented with the present course of things and times, the party, whispering one of them in the ear, said, "My lord, be not dismayed, for you shall see, ere it be long, that the Catholics will redress these and other wrongs sustained." And again, about the same time, there was such posting up and down of Gerard, Oldcorn, Darcy, Blunt, and other Jesuits and Jesuited persons, as made it apparent that some great matter was in hammering and working amongst them, though kept so close as by no means I could find it out; that they had gathered a great mass of money together, amounting to a million of pounds, as one, or of crowns, as another reported, to levy an army undoubtedly therewith, when time should serve for it. This huge sum, as no man can imagine it possible to be raised out of all the Catholic stores in England, so was that part and portion which they got, collected very suspiciously but yet cunningly. For, first, it was not motioned by any but of the Spanish faction that I could ever hear of, nor to any but such as they thought affected that way. Secondly, a caveat was given that certain persons, whereof myself was one,

(who yet knew more than many of their own knew thereof,) should in no wise be made privy to it. Thirdly, this collection went very halting; for in some it was made under pretence of sending over a great many youths, none of which must pass under £60, or £50 a piece, and others not under hundreds or thousands, as they or their friends were possibly able, by selling their lands, goods, or otherwise, to afford it. In other places, and to others, their pretence was to procure liberty of conscience by gift of this huge mass of money to certain Scotch lords very near about his Majesty; and sometimes they would pretend other necessities, either for themselves or Catholic prisoners or colleges beyond the seas. Yea, to some they pretended one thing now, and, having gotten the parties' benevolence for that, would come upon them again for another matter. So as no doubt the mass of money is great which they have collected by these means, but not amounting to near a million. I heard shortly after how it was, or should be made up by Count Vanburgh,* who then, as I take it, was ambassador here from the Archduke for that purpose, as was suspected. And in truth in my poor judgment it was most manifest; for that about the same time an offer was made by a lord of the land to another, his honorable friend, to procure £1000 sterling of yearly pension to be given him to stand for the

* Vandenberg or Eremberg.

Spanish faction with all the power (which he knew to be great) that he was able to make; affirming further, that another great person, and competitor to the crown, should receive £10,000 of yearly pension from Spain for that purpose, to be at their disposing.

These things thus growing to a head, I began then to look about me and to devise some means for to do God, my prince, and country some piece of extraordinary service, though not by my worthless self, yet by the many and great acquaintance I had every where: and, first of all, I devised how I might come to inform his Majesty truly and exactly of all these things; but found so many obstacles and impossibilities therein as I despaired of it, as well by reason of many enemies I had, which would discover, apprehend, or keep me from the King's presence, as also for that I understood of the difficulty which even great persons had to come in presence. Then I purposed to impart all I knew to some lord of his Majesty's honorable privy council, or other noble near about and deeply affected to his Majesty; but the general discontents between the Scots and English on the one side, and the suspicion I imagined they might justly have of me on the other side, lest I should have come to entrap them by some words or action, made me quite give over that intendment, and resolved at last to write to Mr. Edward Ashfield, as I did, desiring him (being

now at liberty out of the Tower) to come and speak with me; intending to have informed him of such matters as might have brought me to the King's presence by his means, to have discovered all. My letter he received, sent me word he would come to me; but to this hour I never saw him.

Thus doubtful what to do, and the dangers daily encreasing and hasting forward, so as I greatly feared they would not be prevented without God's wonderful providence, at last I called to mind two stratagems not unfitting for me to imitate in another kind than the first practisers did. One was an example which I heard a Scots gentleman used, to win himself credit and advancement at his Majesty's hands; and that was, to confer with divers of his acquaintance and friends, every one apart and in secret by himself; to desire him to be in a readiness to do his sovereign service when he should give him notice, which was by wearing some color or token known to himself alone, and such as he could win into the like, with oath taken and promise made not to reveal it to any one. By which pretty device of his, on the sudden, after Queen Elizabeth's death, he showing his colors, a great many of his association did the like, and in the end many thousands, not knowing what it meant, but imagining these to have been the King's colors indeed, or worn for his sake; whereas the intent of the first inventor was, that if any rebellion

or resistance had been against his Majesty at the Queen's death, or otherwise, he would upon the sudden have made as great a party as the most should, on his liege's behalf. The other stragem was, and is an ordinary [subtle] device of the Jesuits, yea, and of all politicians that are of wit and action ; and that is, to work in open show all by contraries to their intention : as, (to go no further,) in the case proposed and now in hand, they had diversities of pretences to [outward] show in the collection of this great treasure now in readiness, dispersed amongst their consorts and confederates. Again, they gave out to some that such and such honorable and great persons were quite now alienated and gone from them, (which would they were,) but the contrary is too true, and the policy therein more dangerous. Again, to some they use most disgraceful and suspicious speeches of the King, to exasperate men's minds against his Majesty. To others they make large promises of great rewards and honorable advancements ; and to others a marvellous applause of his Majesty, with such a liking, good conceit, and hope, nay, rather assurance, that he will be Catholic, or at least grant liberty of conscience, as a simple man, unacquainted with dissimulation and hypocrisy, would think it impossible that ever they should attempt or intend any thing against his Majesty, or that one word of this my discovery in the premises should be true. But I thank God I have

witnesses, and can and will, at time and in place convenient, name to his Majesty, or your honors at his appointment, yea, bring in, by his or your authority and protection under him, all and every author of every particular practice and conspiracy here set down, as they were from time to time delivered unto me. Marry, this last device of extolling the King's Majesty, singing of Placebo, is not amongst their own assured, when none of ours, they think, can come to discovery, as those places are where the treasure is kept for levying of forces, and the powder and shot, with other armour and artillery, is in a readiness. But this smooth speech of toleration, &c. is where some of the faction is in house or near to some of our company, whose loyal hearts they know to be such to his Majesty as [it is] in vain and dangerous for them to speak otherwise. And therefore one Holland, a Jesuit, understanding that a noble lady, seduced by him to be an enemy to the appellant priests, and wholly for the Spanish faction, had discovered herself so far (I verily think, of a good and religious true meaning heart in her, though not conformable to their atheal zeal and policy,) as great likelihood there was (in his guilty conceit) of some danger to them, or at least some hindrance, if not discovery of their projects and platforms; he therefore fared like a madman in dislike of her for it, &c. And thus much for stratagems. Now for my imitating of them.

In devising how to imitate these two stratagemical examples on his Majesty's behalf, and for the good of our country, yea, and withal (I must confess) for a dear desire I had of restoring religion again in our country, or at least of procuring liberty of conscience, which I made no doubt of but would have been granted upon the sequel of this special service intended by Catholics at my procurement on his Majesty's behalf, amongst many hopes there were two I did much presume upon; and those were two Catholic gentlemen of good worth and great alliance and friends, and both standing for the priests against the Spanish faction: the one I never saw myself, but knew how to have him wrought upon [if] need were; the other I know as one who, spite of the greatest in that shire, and before any authority, commission, or direction came down into the county, proclaimed King James presently, at what time as another great knight and his confederates were about to proclaim another sovereign over us: these two Catholic gentlemen being, the one deeply affected to a northern, the other to a southern earl, both which I understood, by other of my friends, were no less honorable in their actions than affected of all men, and most loyal to his Majesty from the beginning, as it pleased his Highness to acknowledge unto me upon some speech of them at my last being in Scotland. Hereupon I made no doubt, but when time should

come, these two [Catholic] gentlemen could and would by my instructions inform the said two honorable lords so thoroughly of all matters as the Jesuitical faction should have a cold fall for a conquest of this land. Yet, thinking it not fit for the present to impart any matter of moment unto them, I proceeded in this manner in imitating the former stratagems.

First, hearing of divers upbraiding speeches against me, proceeding from the Jesuits' malice, as though there was Watson's king! There was he that was said to be so well affected to Catholics as that he would grant toleration! &c. I answered, that it was true, and that I made no doubt of it but his Majesty would be drawn unto it, if our cause were once thoroughly known unto him; which could not, as I thought, ever be but by public means. The public means (quoth I) must be this, for all Catholics out of every shire to repair up to London about midsummer, for I understood the Jesuitical or Spanish treason would break out about that time; and to bring with them, of schismatics and others, so many as they could make of their friends, or win to give their voice for toleration of religion on the Catholics' behalf; and that all these repairing up together as they might without suspicion, — some to the term, others to see our sovereigns, King and Queen, and Prince and Princess, others to expect the coronation, and some under one pretence, some

under another,—they should present themselves before his Majesty and honorable council, all with one voice crying out for justice in toleration of the Catholic religion there to be granted by his Majesty, and ratified and confirmed by his prerogative royal before all his noble peers presently, in apt place. Otherwise they were not to expect it, by reason of sinister suggestions that would still in private be whispered into his princely ears against us, and also for that particular faults would be made general offences hereafter, as it was in Queen Elizabeth's days. And besides, this public grant would be so notified and known to all the world, that no civil magistrate could ever after except against it, nor seem to be ignorant of it. Adding, withal, that there were so many noble and honorable persons (as some were tried that were even Protestants and Puritans, who, notwithstanding, thought well of toleration, and promised to give their voice, &c.) that would like well of the motion, as when it should be asked in presence, What say you, my lord? and What say you? (and so from one to another of the chiefs.) Will you deign us your voice to his Majesty for toleration of our religion? there were so few that would not like of it, either in piety, or at least in policy, as the willing impugnors of so good a motion should even of fear and shame be put to silence, when especially it should be known to tend to the common good of all, the securing of

his Majesty's person and royal issue still to reign prosperously over us, and the great profit, quiet, and content which it would bring to the whole commonwealth of and within his Majesty's imperial dominions. Yea, to make this certain, the Catholics should all in that place prostrate themselves at their sovereign's feet, desiring nothing but justice at his hands; that if they had deserved to be used as his children, (as a prince is *pater patriæ* in respect of all his subjects,) then not to suffer them to live as aliens, strangers, bastards, bond-slaves, or men unworthy of his gracious favors, common to all other sects or professions. If any would accuse them, or give a reason why they ought not to have such favor, that it might not be suggested in detracting manner and in hucker-mucker behind their backs; but there in presence to have the case pleaded, and the convicted put to silence ever after. Nay, further, to take a solemn oath of allegiance, with offer of hostages for continuance of their loyalty; and discovery, with delivery of all, or any one Catholic that should practise or conspire any manner of way against the premises.

This proffer being well liked of by all men at first that ever heard of it, and divers having promised, yea, and some upon their oaths granted, to further it to their power; thus far, to wit, to do their endeavor by all lawful means for restoring of the Catholic faith in our country, for preserva-

tion of his Majesty's life in safety, and for conservation of the laws of our land against all whosoever, and not to impart this their intent to any until time should come for it, none taking nor imagining how to take exceptions against the premises; yet the matter being heard of amongst the Jesuits, they presently conceiving of it (as true it was) that it would be an utter overthrow to all their plots and treacheries, as a discovery perforce of their treasons and conspiracies, a mean to cause all Catholics to cashier and reject them, and a violent expulsion of them all out of this land, they hereupon began to stamp and stare like madmen, and to devise all means possible either to hinder it, or else to bring us all into question about it. They sent down post-haste into the country, for all Catholics to beware of such and such priests as were about a most dangerous conspiracy. They reported that I was set on by the Lord Cecil of Essendon and the Bishop of London,* and I know not whom, to betray all Catholics, and bring them within compass of treason. They affirmed there could be no good meaning in it, by reason that Catholics, Protestants, Puritans, and all discontented persons of any profession were in it. In few, the devil himself could not have invented more manifest, false, and spiteful lies than the Spanish and Jesuit faction did blaze abroad against us; and in conclusion,

* Dr. Bancroft.

finding, notwithstanding all this, themselves so strait-laced as they neither could wrest themselves out of danger and prevent discovery, nor yet effect what they traitorously intended, which was the death of our sovereign and all his royal issue, as then it bolted out (no doubt as God would have it) by a speech of one nobleman unto another to this effect, saying, there is no way of redress save only one, and that is to take away the King and his cubs, (for these were his words as they were to me delivered,) not leaving one on life. The party that spoke these words was the same that a little before that time had promised the procurement of the £1000 on the Spaniards' behalf to this his friend; whom the Jesuits understanding of to be acquainted with me, your honors may judge what a fear they were in, and whether it were not high time for them to stir, to cry whoreson first, in bringing all in question who either were suspected to be acquainted with that gentleman or me, or else that had blabbed those conspiracies to bring them to our hearing. Hereupon, Darcy, Gerard, and others, informing what they could against the aforesaid gentleman that had the dangerous letter sent unto him, and they and others augmenting one lie with another against me to the Arch-priest, and Walley, the Jesuits' provincial, these two presently sent for John Gage, whom they instructed what to say, and deliver up to some of the privy council, or other lords against us; causing him withal to come

to one Barnaby a priest, who, whether of fear lest Gage had come [of purpose] to entrap him, or else that he believed the thing reported by him to be true indeed, or what else did move him to so unjust an accusation of the innocent, I know not; but by his own confession he is the man, together with Gage, who hath accused me and others most falsely and ignorantly, not knowing any thing of the original cause and ground of these matters, nor how the Jesuits had set them on for clearing of themselves by laying their own treasons and conspiracies to others' charge. Which when I heard of, and that I was so proclaimed, I sought to have got into some private place for a time, until I had set down all this at large, and found out a convenient messenger to address it by unto his Majesty: but being prevented of that my intendment by my apprehension, I now, as his Majesty's prisoner, do send it unto your honors, either to deliver or impart unto his Highness so much as it shall please him to hear of, or in your wisdoms shall be judged meet to trouble his princely ears withal. As for the names of the parties that are unnamed, I have concealed them until I open them myself in your presence, I hope without offence to your honors and for just cause. Thus committing all to your honorable considerations, and my poor self, your prisoner, to be employed for performance of what I here have promised, or

else banished for ever the land, or, lastly, kept by some of you, I humbly take my leave.

At all your honors' service,

Your honors' ever,

WILLIAM WATSON.*

ROBERT HOBART TO SIR JOHN HOBART.

[Execution of Watson and Clarke.]

GOOD BROTHER,

SINCE your departure from London, there hath chanced small occurrents, worthy the repetition, that hath come to my hearing. From Winchester I hear that, upon Tuesday last, the lords of the council departed from thence to the court, as the Lord Chancellor, Treasurer, &c. which had commission to execute all, or so many of the prisoners condemned as they in their discretions thought good; but they, in discretion, thought fit to reprieve them all till they had made particular relation of every particular man and his actions unto the King, and that he should determine thereof according to his pleasure. But the furious impatience of the Lord Chief Justice† was such as, the same night the lords went, he, by a writ of the crown-office, executed two of them, viz. Watson and Clarke, the next morning, lest a reprieve should have

* Tan. MSS. lxxv. 88. In Sancroft's hand, "Ex. Orig. P. O."

† Sir Edward Coke.

come for them. Watson made short work, and had quick despatch, for he only asked the Jesuits' forgiveness,* and prayed them to forgive him, and to pray for him both alive and dead; and so was quickly despatched. But Clarke would have told tales how they were abused, and the truth of things, how they were misled, and how the people were blinded with coloured shows, but could not be suffered; but was most miserably tortured, to the great discontent of the people, who now think that matters were not so heinous as were made show of. On Friday, at night, the Lord Admiral, and some other lords, came back again to Winchester, whereupon there was an execution expected on Saturday morning, but was not so; for the clerk of the crown's man stayeth the return of the Lord Chancellor to make the writ, either to remove or execute the rest of the prisoners. The sheriffs are pricked, but they must put in better assurance to answer the King than they have done. There is a Poland ambassador come with presents and gratulations to the King; he hath a company of followers, the lustiest, tallest men that ever I saw of any nation. There is an ambassador coming from Savoy; Sir John Hollis and a Scotch knight were sent to receive them at

* The same thing is stated, in substance, by Hicks in his letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in which he has given a detailed and interesting account of the trial of the several conspirators.—See Lodge's *Illust.* iii. 218.

Harwich, but I see them not yet come to London. Geneva are gathered for in parish churches, for their piercest† are not able to maintain their garrisons of soldiers. Grave Morris beginneth to grow wearisome to the states, for that this summer he hath spent a great deal and done nothing; heretofore when he got them something towards the charges, though but a third or fourth part, yet it was something. The Prince cometh shortly to Oatlands; the Queen is expected on Thursday at Hampton Court, and the King about Thursday come se'nnight. The plague somewhat slaketh, but still * * * scattereth.

All the business at the end of this term was despatched in Mr. Hickman's name * * *. My Lady Billensby is dead. * * *

Your loving brother,

ROBERT HOBART.†

From Clifford's Inn, London,

This 5th of December 1603.

To Sir John Hobart, Kt.

ROBERT HOBART TO SIR JOHN HOBART.

[Execution of Brooke and Markham.]

GOOD BROTHER,

* * * IF you could be well spared from Hayles, I wish you were here again, about a se'nnight or fortnight hence after the court be

† So in the original.

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxv. 113.

come, which is expected to be at Hampton Court some time this week; for the coming thereof doth quicken London and revive it very much, for there is cause. For it is expected that there will be as great a multitude and concourse of people in it before Easter as ever was. There is already laid in 200 tun of wine into Whitehall; there is order given already for trimming up of the Parliament House and Westminster Hall; wherefore we in London expect, at least, the solemnity of the King's coronation, and a parliament immediately after the term. There is at the Court in London, besides the French and Spanish Liegers, two ambassadors from Venice, one lieger and one special messenger, one from the Duke of Florence, one from the Duke of Savoy, one from the King of Poleland; and the Constable of Spain is expected about February. [There]fore now all men expect a peace at least, if not a marry[age]. I thi]nk I writ you word that Mr. George Brooke [would] be headed; * but since, upon Friday last, the two lords and Sir Griffin Markham were brought to the place of execution to be headed; but, when every one was severally ready to be executed, they were all reprieved and carried back again. Yesterday, being Monday, it was expected Sir Walter Rawley should be executed; but whether it was done, or not, I hear not yet the certainty.

* The letter is much torn and decayed in this place, which I have endeavoured carefully to restore.

There is a speech Sir Benjamin Tichborne shall be lieutenant of the Tower.

There died the last week, of the plague, but 55. Thirty parishes infected, but 'tis doubted this week will be more. There is a captain hath slain a Scotch knight, called Douglas, in fight upon Hounslow Heath. For my own particular affairs, I can certify you no more than I did the last week. * * *

Your poor brother,

ROBERT HOBART.*

From the office in Fleet Street, London,
this 13th of December 1603.

To Sir John Hobart, Kt.

T. CORNWALLEYS TO SIR J. HOBART.

[Execution of Brooke and Markham.—Exorcising at Court.]

COSIN,

My keeper (according to your desire) attended the coming of your man, and went with him to Wetherden, where he killed such a fat doe as my keeper saith he hath never seen a fatter: it will be a present well beseeming a Lord Mayor. I thank you for your news, in requital whereof I send you such as I received yesterday from a friend of mine; viz. that on Friday last, the Lord Gray, Lord Cobham, and Sir Griffin Markham, were severally brought to the scaffold; all of them prepared themselves for death. The

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxv. 115. Much injured

Lord Gray protested to die a Protestant, Sir Griffin Markham a Catholic; the Lord Cobham professed nothing.* After this done, they laid their heads on the block, when his Majesty's pardon was pronounced unto them all. Sir Walter Raleigh was not brought forth, but still expecteth the King's mercy; which perhaps at length will come, according to the proverb, *in space cometh grace*. What my son hath done with those good fellows that were in his purse, you shall understand by his letter here inclosed; which, after you have read, I pray return again.

The last week were taken two priests at court, which should have been banished, but were stayed by occasion of a gentleman of the court, possessed by a spirit, whose friends desired these priests to exorcise him: they answered they would, if they might have an altar and mass, and such other rites as belong to that action, all which were granted them. Some of the council desired to be present, which they granted, so be it they would behave themselves without contempt or irreverence. The issue of this is expected, which we all pray for, that it may be with good success; for it

* The following lines were written upon their behaviour on this occasion:—

Fortiter occubuit Grayus, quasi vivere spernens;

Cobhamius timide sed tamen ut decuit;

In medio tacite vadit Markhamius, ut qui

Vivere nec spernit pertimuitque mori.

From Yelverton's MS. All Souls' Coll. Oxf. f. 59, b.

may work much good in God's church, and in particular to yourself. And so, with my hearty commendations to your good father and mother, and yourself, I end.

Your loving kinsman,

T. CORNEWALEYS.*

To my very loving Cosin, Sir John Hobart, Kt.,

At Hales Hall, in Norfolk.

SIR WALTER RAWLEIGH TO HIS WIFE,

AFTER HE HAD HURT HIMSELF IN THE TOWER.†

RECEIVE from thy unfortunate husband these his last lines, these the last words that ever thou shalt receive from him. That I can live to think never to see thee and my child more, I cannot. I have desired God and disputed with my reason, but nature and compassion hath the victory. That I can live to think how you are both left a spoil to my enemies, and that my name shall be a dishonor to my child, I cannot, I cannot endure the memory thereof: unfortunate woman, unfortunate child, comfort yourselves, trust God, and be contented with your poor estate; I would have bettered it if I had enjoyed a few years. Thou art a young woman, and forbear not to marry again: it is now nothing to

* Orig. Tan. lxxv. 12.

† This letter at once determines the much vexed question, whether or not Sir Walter did attempt to stab himself in the Tower.—See Tytler's Raleigh, p. 438.

me; thou art no more mine, nor I thine. To witness that thou didst love me once, take care that thou marry not to please sense, but to avoid poverty, and to preserve thy child. That thou didst also love me living, witness it to others; to my poor daughter, to whom I have given nothing; for his sake, who will be cruel to himself to preserve thee. Be charitable to her, and teach thy son to love her for his father's sake. For myself, I am left of all men, that have done good to many. All my good turns forgotten, all my errors revived and expounded to all extremity of ill; all my services, hazards, and expenses for my country, plantings, discoveries, fights, councils, and whatsoever else, malice hath now covered over. I am now made an enemy and traitor by the word of an unworthy man; he hath proclaimed me to be a partaker of his vain imaginations, notwithstanding the whole course of my life hath approved the contrary, as my death shall approve it. Woe, woe, woe be unto him by whose falsehood we are lost! he hath separated us asunder; he hath slain my honor, my fortune; he hath robbed thee of thy husband, thy child of his father, and me of you both. Oh, God! thou dost know my wrongs: know then, thou my wife and child; know then thou, my Lord and King, that I ever thought them too honest to betray, and too good to conspire against. But my wife, forgive thou all as I do; live humble, for thou hast but a time also. God forgive my Lord

Harry,* for he was my heavy enemy. And for my Lord Cecill, I thought he would never forsake me in extremity; I would not have done it him, God knows. But do not thou know it, for he must be master of thy child, and may have compassion of him. Be not dismayed that I died in despair of God's mercies; strive not to dispute it; but assure thyself that God hath not left me, nor Satan tempted me. Hope and despair live not together; I know it is forbidden to destroy ourselves, but I trust it is forbidden in this sort, that we destroy not ourselves despairing of God's mercy.

The mercy of God is immeasurable, the cogitations of men comprehend it not. In the Lord I have ever trusted, and I know that my Redeemer liveth: far is it from me to be tempted with Satan; I am only tempted with sorrow, whose sharp teeth devour my heart. O God, that art goodness itself, thou canst not be but good to me! Oh, God, that art mercy itself, thou canst not be but merciful to me!

For my state is conveyed to feoffees, to your cousin Brett and others; I have but a bare estate for a short life. My plate is at gage in Lombard Street: my debts are many. To Peter Vanlore, some £600. To Antrobus as much, but Cumpson is to pay £300 of it. To Michael Hext,* £100. To George Carew, £100. To Nicholas Sanders, £100. To John Fitz-James, £100. To Mr.

* Cobham.

Waddom, £100. To a poor man, one Hawker, for horses, £70. To a poor man, called Hunt, £20. Take first care of those for God's sake. To a brewer at Weymouth, and a baker for my Lord Cecill's ship and mine, I think some £80; John Renolds knoweth it. And let that poor man have his true part of my return from Virginia; and let the poor men's wages be paid with the goods, for the Lord's sake. Oh, what will my poor servants think at their return, when they hear I am accused to be Spanish, who sent them, to my great charge, to plant and discover upon his territory! Oh, intolerable infamy! Oh, God! I cannot resist these thoughts; I cannot live to think how I am derided, to think of the expectation of my enemies, the scorns I shall receive, the cruel words of lawyers, the infamous taunts and despites, to be made a wonder and a spectacle! Oh, death! hasten thee unto me, that thou mayest destroy the memory of these, and lay me up in dark forgetfulness. Oh, death! destroy my memory, which is my tormentor; my thoughts and my life cannot dwell in one body. But do thou forget me, poor wife, that thou mayest live to bring up thy poor child. I recommend unto you my poor brother, A. Gilbert. The lease of Sanding is his, and none of mine; let him have it for God's cause; he knows what is due to me upon it. And be good to Kemis, for he is a perfect honest man, and hath much wrong

* Hickee.—See Lodge's Illust. iii. 218.

for my sake. For the rest, I commend me to them, and them to God. And the Lord knows my sorrow to part from thee and my poor child; but part I must by enemies and injuries, part with shame and triumph of my detractors; and therefore be contented with this work of God, and forget me in all things but thine own honor, and the love of mine. I bless my poor child, and let him know his father was no traitor. Be bold of my innocence, for God, to whom I offer life and soul, knows it. And whosoever thou choose again after me, let him be but thy politique husband; but let my son be thy beloved, for he is part of me, and I live in him, and the difference is but in the number, and not in the kind. And the Lord for ever keep thee and them, and give thee comfort in both worlds! *

1605.

[Anecdotes of Henry IV. of France.]

SIR GEORGE CAREW TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

From Paris, June 2nd, 1605.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

SINCE my last unto your lordship, there happened here a great and sudden accident, which was

* Contemporary copy, transcribed from Serg. Yelverton's collection in All-Souls. Marked MS. 16, 18, fol. 100, b.

like to have made a great alteration in this estate ; but, God be thanked, all is now well again ! It was that the King and Queen here were very near drowning ; and it came to pass on Friday last, the 30th of May, being an exceeding wet day, on this sort. The King and Queen had been at St. Germain to see the Dauphin and the rest of their children, and in the evening took their coach, with six horses, to return to Paris again. The King at that time was troubled with the toothach ; and, therefore, contrary to his wont, sate then in the hinder part of the coach : at other times he used to sit in the boot. There were besides with them in the coach the Duke of Vendôme, his late son by the Duchess of Beaufort, the Duke Montpensier, and the Princess of Conti. Between St. Germain and Paris there are divers ferries, or *bacs*, as they call them here. The rest they passed well ; but at the last, which is hard by the house of Madrid, when two of the horses were gotten in the ferry-boat, the two hindmost, in the descent of the bank, being wet and slipping, fell into the water, which is deep, the length of a pike, close to the shore, and drew up the coach on one side after them, that being nethermost on which the Queen sate. There is joined to the side of the great ferry-boat a little flat-bottomed boat for men to pass over in, which the King was wont ever to pass, but the wetness of the weather and his toothach then kept him in the coach. That little boat was the means of saving all their lives ; for the

coach falling upon that, was thereby supported, which otherwise had slid and sunk clean down. The King perceiving the overturning of the coach, called to have the harness cut, took little Vendôme in his hands, and cast him to those standing in the ferry-boat; Montpensier being in the boat that turned uppermost, got out and helped himself with the top of the coach. The King, seeking to get out from the hinder part within, was hit back by the side bar of the boot of the coach then turning, and was much wet, but soon recovered and had out by gentlemen that put themselves into the water to help. There were not many present; L'Isle, Chastaigneray, and Ursi are named for the chiefest. The Queen was in the lower side of the coach a great while under water, the bed of the coach falling that way, and the Princess of Conti likewise, and being wedged in with her short farthingale, or transequeue, made it the more difficult for her to get out. The King caught at her gown at first, and held it still, bringing in his hand a piece of it out that he rent off; then returned into the water himself and lamented much the Queen, thinking she must have perished, giving order for grappling for her and for the Princess of Conti, which the rest in that haste and confusion thought not on. At length they were both gotten out, the Queen's gown and hair and all that came next to hand being laid hold on, so that all her head-tire she lost, and

amongst that some of her hair and jewels of value, and came to Paris in a man's hat. The Princess of Conti, sister to the Duke of Guise, a very courteous, fair, and good lady, much affectionate to the King, my Sovereign, using all good offices to all appertaining to his Majesty, as soon as she came to have help, got in a manner as much hair as the Queen lost; for the first thing that she laid hold on was his beard, that came to help her, and that she held so fast as hath made the places of his face, where it grew, bare. Being all gotten out, they passed the ferry presently, and first went on foot to heat and stir themselves, then got into another coach, the King making all the speed he could to be the first man that should bring the news of his well doing to this town of Paris. That night he supped abroad, recounting his adventure to the Princes, that came to see him, and telling of the time of his falling into the water, said, "*Aussi bien estoit l'heure de boire.*" The next day *Te Deum* was sung in many places of Paris for his deliverance.*

SIR GEORGE CAREW TO LORD CAREW,

HIS KINSMAN.†

30th of June 1605.

TOUCHING women, the King‡ is vehemently bent for entertaining the Marquise of Verneuil

* Birch, 4160.

† Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen.

‡ Henry IV. of France.

again. The Queen, of all women, fears her, as one that hath had very handsome children by the King, pretendeth a contract of marriage with him before the Queen's, and in way of discourse is only capable and sufficient above any woman in France, as the King himself professeth *d'entretenir son esprit*; to which kind of delight with women he now most bendeth himself, being not any more in case *a far la prouezze d'Hercole*. To divert him from this Marquise, the Queen hath been contented that he should entertain the Countess of Moritt.* She hath given way and furtherance to the matter of La Haye; but upon speech with her two things have distasted the King; the first a demand of thirty thousand or fifty thousand of crowns by her; to which the King answered, *Beaumont vous a instruit en cecy*; the other, that she began to play the preacher with him, and persuaded him to content himself with his Queen. The King answered that she was *son pain cotidien*, but he must have besides somewhat for collation. She persisting in her former two terms, the King told her she was *une sottie*, and that he would see her no more. The Queen hath also sought to bring in the Marquise's own sister in competence of love with her; but the King cannot be wrought to any of these people. Therefore the Queen falls into great passions and weepings if she hear that either the King goes to the Marquise, or that she comes

* Moret la Haye.

to Paris : and the Princess of Conti is the Queen's chief councillor therein. The King thereupon is at them both with bitter chidings sometimes ; and at other he employs his most inward councillors to satisfy the Queen herein. Rosny hath been ever in opposition with the Marquise ; and therefore he is *brusquement* against her. Sillery and Ville-roy deal with the Queen in more persuasive terms, telling her that at first she was afraid of Queen Margaret's coming to the court, but that she findeth now that it proveth for her greatness and for her assurance and for the good of the Dauphin. So likewise it were more for her assurance to have the Marquise here publicly as a concubine, than to have her hold the secret pretensions of a wife by living apart ; which pretensions receive strength by the fears which the Queen showeth of them ; the only way to destroy them were to show a contempt of them. These reasons, though they be true, yet is not she capable of, but leads such a life about these matters as troubleth both extremely, and this *bruit de message* I take to have been some cause of putting off Sir William Godolphin's audience the longer, the King being in these terms with the Queen and the Princess of Conti at his arrival, and therefore himself to Fontainebleau *à passer son ennuy*. Since I hear the King hath written a kind letter to the Marquise, wherein he telleth her he can be no more without her company than the body without the soul.

4th July.—The Queen, upon the doubt of the King's return to the Marquise, grew into such sharp terms as that she protested rather than she would endure such indignities, she would return to Florence again, and received as quick an answer, that for to bring her thither she should have the easiest coaches and litters of all France provided for her.*

LETTERS OF ARABELLA STUART TO PRINCE HENRY.

18th Oct. 1605.

SIR,

My intention to attend your Highness to-morrow (God willing) cannot stay me from acknowledging by these few lines how infinitely I am bound to your Highness for that your gracious disposition towards me, which faileth not to show itself upon every occasion, whether accidental or begged by me, as this late high favour and grace it hath pleased your Highness to do my kinsman at my humble suit. I trust to-morrow to let your Highness understand such motives of that my presumption as shall make it excusable. For your Highness shall perceive, I both understand with what extraordinary respects suits are to be presented to your Highness, and, withal, that your goodness doth so temper your greatness as it encourageth both me and many others to hope that we may taste the fruits of the one by

* Birch, 4160.

means of the other. The Almighty make your Highness every way such as I, Mr. Newton, and Sir David Murray (the only intercessors I have used in my suits, or will in any I shall present to your Highness) wish you! and then shall you be even such as you are, and your growth in virtue and grace with God and men shall be the only alteration we will pray for. And so in all humility I cease.—From London, the 18th of October 1605.

Your Highness'

Most humble and dutiful,

ARBELLA STUART.*

To the Prince.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I HAVE received your Highness' letter, wherein I am let to understand that the Queen's Majesty is pleased to command Cutting my servant for the King of Denmark, concerning the which your Highness requireth my answer to her Majesty, the which I have accordingly returned by this bearer, referring him to her Majesty's good pleasure and disposition. And although I may have some cause to be sorry to have lost the contentment of a good lute, yet must I confess that I am right glad to have found any occasion where-

* MS. Harl. 6986, fol. 71. This letter has been already printed by Birch, in his *Life of Prince Henry*, p. 60. But I have taken the liberty of introducing it here as a favourable specimen of Arabella's correspondence.

by to express to her Majesty and your Highness the humble respect which I owe you, and the readiness of my disposition to be conformed to your good pleasures; wherein I have placed a great part of the satisfaction which my heart can receive. I have, according to your Highness' direction, signified unto my uncle and aunt of Shrewsbury your Highness' gracious vouchsafing to remember them, who, with all duty, present their most humble thanks, and say they will ever pray for your Highness' most happy prosperity; and yet my uncle saith he carrieth the same spleen in his heart towards your Highness that he hath ever done. And so praying to the Almighty for your Highness' felicity, I humbly cease.—From Sheffield, the 15th of March 1607.

Your Highness'

Most humble and dutiful,

ARBELLA STUART.†

To the Prince his Highness.

ARBELLA SEYMOUR (STUART) TO * * *.

[Soliciting the person she writes to, to use his interest with Lord Northampton to intercede for her with the King, after her marriage with the Earl of Hertford.]

SIR,

THOUGH you be almost a stranger to me, but only by sight, yet the good opinion I generally

† MS. Harl. 6986, fol. 78.

hear to be held of your worth, together with the great interest you have in my Lord of Northampton's favor, makes me thus far presume of your willingness to do a poor afflicted gentlewoman that good office (if in no other respect, yet because I am a Christian) as to further me with your best endeavours to his Lordship, that it will please him to help me out of this great distress and misery, and regain me his Majesty's favor, which is my chiefest desire. Wherein his Lordship may do a deed acceptable to God and honorable to himself, and I shall be infinitely bound to his Lordship, and beholden to you, who now, till I receive some comfort from his Majesty, rest the most sorrowful creature living,

[1611 ?]

ARBELLA SEYMOUR.†

[The Gunpowder Plot.]

SIR EDWARD HOBART TO SIR THOMAS EDMONDS,

AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF BRUSSELS.‡

* * * For our occurrences here. On Wednesday, the 30th of October, the Earl of Cumberland§ died ; and it is said that the body of the council is no whit weakened thereby. His wife and he were reconciled before his death, who is left

† MS. Cott. Vesp. F. iii. fol. 35.

‡ From a copy by Birch in the Sloane Collection.

§ George Clifford.

a lady able to pleasure the communion of saints, having a jointure of £1200 a year, confirmed in 39 Eliz. by parliament. Upon his opening, there was as much filthy matter in his liver as filled a great charger. My Lord of Salisbury is one of his executors. His daughter shall have £15,000, and be married to my Lord of Walden.

The last of October died the old Lady Chandos; and it is confidently said that my Lord is to marry my Lord Chamberlain's eldest daughter. The same day the King arrived at Whitehall.

Upon the 1st of November, Monsieur de Beaumont departed towards France, having left behind him a reasonable distaste here, but had a very extraordinary present given him from the King, and Queen likewise, and so had his wife. I understand that the Count de Crumaille, who is to succeed him, will not be here these six weeks; so as for this parliament we are like to be without a French ambassador.

Here were certain books lately brought out of France, and great search made after them to call them all in. And how true I know not, but I am let to understand that our ambassador then moved the French King for the suppressing of the whole press, and received but a very slight answer. It continueth a history of some eight years since, containing some quires of paper, and written by one Dampmartin: you may easily recover one by the French ambassador there.

There is another book, written in Spanish, much in disgrace of the admiral and carriage of our countrymen there. Before my coming hither, I hear that Madame de Hoboguen was with the Queen at Hampton Court, where she did excellently carry herself to her great commendation. I have not yet seen her, but will do with the first opportunity. I am and will do her all the honor and service I can, purposing when my wife shall be come to the town and settled, solemnly to invite her. But to tell your Lordship truly, she lieth so far off at Stepney, as, this winter weather, it is great toil to go to her. A man must be fain to spend a whole day for a compliment, which I should hardly do during the parliament, were it not that my obligation is so great to my father, Monsieur le President, as will leave nothing unperformed. Much marvelling, for many respects, they do not winter within the City.

It is said here, that the chaplain which Sir Charles Cornwallis carried over with him into Spain is turned friar: likewise, that a priest of Taxis is converted here; and assuredly given out that Sir Edmund Bainham is turned Capuchin. Several parliament men are dead since the last session, as Sir Arthur Atye, Sir Edward Stafford, Sir Richard Levison, Sir George Harvey, Sir Philip Keightley, old Leife of Hastings, Sir Edward Lewkenor, Sir Thomas Heskett, attorney of the Wards, (in whose room Serjeant Hobart is

placed,) young Sir Henry Beaumont, &c.; wherein your Lordship may note that it hath leightened most upon fat men. For lords, I find, none dead but the Lord Windsor.

Here hath been lately kept certain marshal-courts by the commissioners, wherein were chiefly handled, as I understand, the matter of the Earl of Kildare, for the Barony of Ophaley. As also the Viscount Montague calleth in question Sir Edward Monteagle, for bearing of his coat of arms, and quartering of Mountherme, driving it to the point of proving no gentleman. But one thing seemed very strange unto me, which the lords have likewise called before them, that there is one Musgrave, one of the Knights of the Bath, and hath married my Lord Wharton's daughter, who hath caused to be made a great number of glass windows to be set up in his house containing sundry arms, where he placed for the first coat the arms of England, the second the arms of Scotland, the third of Edward the Confessor, and the fourth his own. I verily believe he will prove another Basset.

In the beginning of this Michaelmas term, Justice Gaudy was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

We hear that the King of Spain hath been lately in Navarre, under colour of coming to be crowned; but when he came to Pampeluna, he flayed the governor of the town quick, and put

to death two hundred inhabitants for practising with France.

On the 5th of November we began our Parliament, when the King should have come in person, but he refrained through a practice but that morning discovered. The plot was to have blown up the King at such time as he should have been set in his royal throne, accompanied with his children, nobility, and commoners, and assisted with all the bishops, judges, and doctors; at one instant and blast to have ruined the whole state and kingdom of England; and for the effecting of this there was placed under the parliament-house, where the King should sit, some thirty barrels of powder, with good store of wood, faggots, pieces, and bars of iron. How this came forth is sundry ways delivered. Some say, by a letter sent to the Lord Monteagle, wherein he was warned not to come to the parliament the first day; for that the time was so wicked as God would take some vengeance, which would be in as short time performed as that letter could be burned, which he was prayed to do. Such as are apt to interpret all things to the worst, will not believe other but that Monteagle might in policy cause this letter to be sent, fearing the discovery of the letter; the rather, that one Thomas Ward, a principal man about him, is suspected to be accessory to the treason; others otherwise. But howsoever certain it is, that upon a search lately made on Monday night

in the vault under the parliament chamber before spoken of, one Johnson was found, with one of those close lanterns, preparing the train against the next morrow, who being after brought into the galleries of the court, and there demanded if he were not sorry for his so foul and heinous a treason, answered, that he was sorry for nothing, but that the act was not performed. Being replied unto him, that no doubt there had been a number in that place of his own religion, how, in conscience, he could do them hurt, he answered, a few might well perish to have the rest taken away. Others telling him that he should die a worse death than he that killed the Prince of Orange, he answered, that he should bear it as well, and oftentimes repeated that he should have merited pardon if he had performed it. Some say that he was servant to one Thomas Percy ; others that he is a Jesuit, and had a shirt of hair next his skin. But he was carried to the Tower on Tuesday following, whither the lords were to examine him. This Thomas Percy had been a servant of the Earl of Northumberland's, and put in great trust by him concerning his northern business, and lately made by him a pensioner. He presently fled, and proclamations were made presently for his apprehension.

Early on the Monday morning, the Earl of Worcester was sent to Essex House to signify the matter to my Lord of Northumberland, whom he

found asleep in his bed, and hath done since his best endeavour for his apprehension. This Percy my Lord of Northumberland confessed had £4000 of his in his hands. I will judge the best; but if this Earl should be found hereafter any ways privy thereto, it cannot be but that Beaumont's hand was in the pie.† * * *

When Johnson was brought to the King's presence, the King asked him how he could conspire so hideous a treason against his children, and so many innocent souls, which never offended him? He answered that it was true; but a dangerous disease required a desperate remedy. He told some of the Scots that his intent was to have blown them back again into Scotland.

We say that Sir Anthony Shirley hath been with the Emperor, and is at this time employed by him into Spain; and there is further news, that his brother, Robert Shirley, hath been the chief instrument for the Persian to overthrow fourscore thousand Turks.

Since Johnson's being in the Tower he beginneth to speak English; and yet he was never upon the rack, but only by his arms upright.

On Thursday, the 7th of November, the Earl of Northumberland was committed to the custody of the Archbishop, who, as I doubt not but you already know, is made one of the privy council.

Some insurrection hath been in Warwickshire,

† Goodman's Memoirs, p. 102.

and begun the very same day that the plot should have been executed, some Popish and light heads thinking to do wonders. The chief of name, which I hear of, are such as were swaggerers in Essex's action; as Catesby, and some say Tresham, the two Wrights, and one of the Winters, and such like. Percy himself was met at Dunstable, it should seem, going towards them. If the practice had taken effect, the King of Spain's ambassador and the Archduke's had been blown up; for their coaches were ready at the door to have attended on the King. Some say that Northumberland received the same letter that Monteagle did, and concealed it. The Viscount Montacute is committed to Sir Thomas Bennet's house, alderman of London. Captain Whitelock is committed to the Tower of London. Sir Walter Raleigh is much suspected to be privy to this action; for Whitelocke had had private conference late with him. The prisoner's right name is held not to be Johnson, but Faux. He hath further confessed, that there be many gentlemen, which at this time serve the Archduke, that have been made privy, that they should be prepared for that day for an insurrection; and that he verily thinketh they will come shortly over by degrees.

Many rumours were here concerning Monsieur Beaumont. Some give out that he is not passed the seas at my writing of this. But I am credibly let to understand, that he did mightily importune

to pass over, and did take shipping the same Tuesday morning, notwithstanding an adverse wind, and that he gave to the captain which carried him a ring worth some five and twenty crowns, which he took in great dudgeon. I hear that that German, which so braved him heretofore in his own house, followed him to Canterbury, and there, *à la desrobée*, affianced himself to his gentlewoman, la Hay, about whom the stir was.

Your lordship must interpret of my letter favorably, as written at sundry times ; which I do for your better information, though it hang as it were by points. It is much here observed that the French King would have no ambassador here against that day.

Such as have been curious to search out whether ever the like act hath been attempted, can find none come so near unto this, as a practice about nine years since, to blow up the Consistory at Rome by one of the house of Este.

I pray your lordship let me understand from you how Sir Henry Carey is handled, and how his affairs go. I think they were too forward when we were there to advance their titles above others. * * *

I understand that Tyrwhit, which married my Lady Bridget, and also Sir Everard Digby, are gone to the rebels, who have left Warwickshire and are gone into Worcestershire ; but of the flying hand and little strength ; not daring to come into any good town.

All the King's servants are to take the oath of supremacy.

On Friday, the 8th of November, the King sent forth a proclamation, that whosoever could apprehend Thomas Percy,* and bring him alive, if he were an offender in this treason in whatsoever degree, he should not only have pardon of his life, lands, and goods, but also a reward of £1000 value at the least; and if he be no offender, he shall have that or a greater reward. His Majesty set forth a proclamation before that, wherein he freed his neighbor kings and princes from any suspicion he had of their privity; for that all the ministers of foreign princes which are now here, made earnest suit to be present in the

* The apprehension of Percy was of considerable importance, particularly for substantiating the guilt or innocence of such noblemen who were supposed to be privy to the plot. All positive proof against the Earl of Northumberland seems to have failed by Percy's death. Much curious information, illustrative of this letter and of the proceedings against the Popish lords, will be found in a letter of Sir R. Cecil to Sir T. Edmonds, in Birch's Hist. View, p. 242. In a subsequent letter, dated 25th July, 1611, Cecil states some curious particulars respecting the confession of a servant of the Earl's, who had asserted that the Earl was privy to the plot; upon which Northumberland was subjected to another examination, in which he confessed that, after he was committed to the Tower in 1605, he wrote to his brother, Sir Alan Percy, "to take it upon him, that by his means Percy was admitted a gentleman-pensioner to his Majesty, and suffered to escape the oath." He also admitted that he was acquainted with the hiring of the house where the mine was made. *Ibid.* 247.

place that day. It is said that the rebels came but two hours too late to have seized upon the person of my Lady Elizabeth's grace.

On the 9th of November the King came to the Parliament House, the Queen, his wife, the ambassador of the Infanta, and the King of Spain present. There was solemnly delivered up by the Lord Chancellor that part of the instrument of the Union, which was to be offered to the consideration of the next session of parliament, the House of Commons being likewise present. The King used some speech touching that matter, and largely delivered in some points touching the late horrible treason, and in the end prorogued the parliament until the 21st of January. Among many other aspects one was, that in the mean time many examinations might be thoroughly taken, for that all the offenders in this treason should be tried by the next session of parliament. His Majesty in his speech observed one principal point, that most of all his best fortunes had happened unto him upon the Tuesday; and particularly he repeated his deliverance from Gowry, and this, in which he noted precisely that both fell upon the 5th day of the month; and therefore concluded that he made choice that the next sitting of parliament begin upon a Tuesday.

I must confess to your lordship that I was not myself present, nor have not been since the session began, out of my house, neither

had I been at that day's work. But I hope my father, Richardot, will not hold me in suspicion.

Tyrwhyt is come to London, Tresham showeth himself, and Ward walketh up and down. Johnson's name now is turned into Guy Vaux, alias Faux. Upon the 10th of November, fresh news came that the traitors were overthrown by the Sheriff of Worcestershire, that Catesby is slain, Percy taken, but sore hurt, at Lyttelton's house, in Worcestershire, which they say the sheriff put fire to. I understand the sheriff's name is Welch ; so much was signified the same day upon a solemn and general thanksgiving by Barlow, Bishop of Rochester, as I heard.

I understand that the French church here at London appointed the same day for a general thanksgiving, and proclaimed a fast for the Thursday ensuing. On Friday, the 15th of November, the Lord Montacute, and Lord Mordaunt, and Tresham were sent to the Tower. It is thought the Lord Mordaunt will be found very capital ; for that one Keye, the keeper of his house at Surrey, was one of the principal plotters of the treason. One thing is very worthy of note, that as these men would have wrought by powder, so by their own powder, which was casually set on fire at Lyttelton's house, they were much distressed ; otherwise it is thought that the sheriff had not so easily come by them. Percy is dead,

who it is thought [of] some particular men could have said more than any other.*

Upon the death of the Earl of Cumberland, Grafton and the parks were bestowed upon the Duke of Lennox. * * * The Computation house, whereunto all this crew resorted during their practice, was the Hart's Horn, in Carter Lane. * * *

November 19th [1605].

LORD MONTAGUE TO THE EARL OF DORSET.†

[Defending himself from the imputation of being concerned in the Gunpowder Plot.]

MY GOOD LORD,

I do daily find more and more how much I am bound to love you ; and having, since yesterday, most justly conceived a new affection in that degree, though (God knows) it was not small before, I am enforced in these few lines, with tears of heart and eyes, for my better ease, to bemoan myself unto your lordship, assuring you, in the word of no dissembler, that to my knowledge I never knew what grief was till now, which as it proceedeth not from any guilt, (the which God and my soul knows to be far from me,) so doth it as little proceed out of any tediousness of imprisonment, or were it death itself, wherein I could hope (by God's grace) to command myself

* See the Memoirs, p. 106, 107.

† See p. 113, 117.

as a man ought to do. But they be the dependences and consequences of this restraint by imputation of that wherein I am most innocent, as also in other respects that do torment me more than I can express. Wherefore I do most humbly beseech your lordship, even for the most bitter passion of our Lord Jesus, to give me advice how, without violation of that which I am and hope ever to be in the integrity of faith, I may work unto myself, by letter or otherwise, the good grace of his Majesty, and the favor of my lords of his council. That which I would crave, were but that I might be with your lordship in what manner soever, whereunto if your lordship might be pleased upon mine humble suit to incline, though it cannot be but your trouble; yet shall it not be (I hope) your discomfort, and I am sure it shall not be the least deed of charity you may do. But if that cannot be, yet I would your lordship might but send for me to speak of things, which with you I could do confidently. And if neither the one nor the other may be so soon as I could wish, yet I would I might hear from your lordship in such time as to your lordship may seem convenient. This I write not from any mislike of mine usage, either from the knight* or his lady, both giving me abundant satisfaction in what I can wish. And even thus, I humbly commend my desires, and all that may concern me, unto your lordship's good favor and

* Sir Thomas Bennet, see p. 113

patronage. From Sir Thomas Bennett's house, this 8th of November, 1605.

Your lordship's most loving son-in-law,

ANTONY MOUNTAGUE.

To the Right Honorable my very good Lord, and
Father-in-law, the Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer of England, be these delivered.

LORD MONTAGUE TO THE EARL OF DORSET.

MY GOOD LORD,

WHEREAS your lordship doth demand of me, upon my duty and allegiance to his majesty, to declare whether I had any warning of this horrible intended treason against his Majesty, either directly or indirectly, whereby I might be moved to forbear coming unto the parliament, I do most unfeignedly protest upon the same allegiance to his Majesty, and by the faith I owe unto God, that I had not at all; only this I did lately call to mind, that upon the Tuesday before All Saints' Day, in the Savoy, I met Mr. Robert Catesby, with whom I had some few words of compliment, and among the rest in these words, or the like: "The parliament, I think, brings your lordship up now?" Whereunto I answered to this effect, and in these words as nigh as I can remember, "No, surely, but it will, on Monday next, unless my lord treasurer do obtain me his Majesty's licence to be absent, which I am in some hope of." Then he said to this effect, "I think your lordship takes no great plea-

sure there," whereunto I assented. And so after a word or two of my walks (as I remember) and of maintaining them, which (to my knowledge) he never saw, I parted from him. The like words also I had with others, that were no ways like to be interested in this wicked work, whose names I cannot remember, they being so many as seemed to wonder at my going at that time; and by all likelihood, some of them should seem to be of mine uncles and aunts that be about the town, and some others. And whereas your lordship doth also command me, in his Majesty's name, to explain my meaning of that which I wrote in my last letter unto your lordship, that I would your lordship might but send for me to speak of things, which with you I could do confidently, I protest unto your lordship, it was not for any thing which I can say in this matter, but partly to satisfy you concerning certain words, which I conceived my Lord of Salisbury to have spoken, that I was head of the Catholics, and so taken; and partly also in regard of such objections as your lordship might make against me, either in the behalf of these or other the like words; or else concerning my future courses, if by his Majesty's gracious favor I might be freed from this present restraint. God is my witness that this was my meaning in general, rather to talk with your lordship confidently of whatsoever the present time should minister occasion to speak of,

than of any other thing in particular. Thus humbly referring this matter and myself unto your lordship's good favor, I take my leave of your lordship. From Sir Thomas Bennett's house, this 12th of Nov. 1605.

Your lordship's most loving son-in-law,

ANTONY MOUNTAGUE.

LORD MONTAGUE TO THE EARL OF DORSET.

MY GOOD LORD,

WHEREAS, in my letter written yesternight unto your lordship, I advertised you of certain speeches had with Mr. Robert Catesby, on Tuesday before All Saints' Day, I must crave pardon of your lordship for mistaking the day, for it must needs have been the Tuesday fortnight before All Saints' Day, which was the 15th of October; for then I was at the Savoy, and dined with mine aunt of Southampton, having formerly met him by chance in the way; and on the next Tuesday before, I was not at the Savoy at all. But by this mean I did mistake the time, for that on both these Tuesdays I was in London, and did on either of them take my journey out of London, and had such speeches with him, upon a day wherein I was to ride out of London. The words were to my remembrance such as I set down in my former letter, saving that the precise day of Monday for my return could not be prefixed by reason of the distance of time, and that

I was in hope to have known his Majesty's pleasure sooner by your lordship's means, whereby if I had been to come up at all, I would not have deferred my coming until the last day. But that very day of Monday, I did name unto somebody upon the Tuesday before All Saints, and that (as I remember) unto my cousin, George Shute the younger, who, coming unto me from his father for certain evidences, enquired diligently of my return, presuming thereupon as necessary upon occasion of the parliament. Whereupon I told him certainly of Monday, unless your lordship should get his Majesty's leave for absence; so much also unto my lady. My grandmother Mountague,* with whom I dined that day, I said upon the unwillingness I saw in her to my going down, because of the speedy return, which she thought, and persuaded me would be too painful for me. I thought not of thus much, I assure your lordship, until this morning that I was ready to rise; and being up, sent immediately for my letter, thinking to have now written it, but it was gone. Yesternight, as I was going to bed, one of my folks told me, that he heard in the house that the miserable fellow, that should have been the bloody executioner of this woful tragedy, was called Guy Faux; surely, if so

* Widow of Anthony Brown, the first Viscount, a fine old nobleman, much distinguished for his patriotism in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

were his name, he should seem to have been my servant once, (though sorry I am to think it,) for such a one I had even for some four months, about the time of my marriage, but was dismissed from me by my lord, upon some dislike he had of him; and discontinued for a year, till some six months after my lord's death, at what time he coming to one Spencer, that was, as it were, my steward and his kinsman, the same Spencer entreated me, that for that instant (being some few days) he might wait at my table, which he did, and departed; and for that time I never had to do with him, nor scarcely thought of him. Thus craving pardon of your lordship for the error of my former, and the rudeness of this present letter, I humbly take my leave of your lordship. From Sir Thomas Bennett's house, this 13th of November, 1605.

Your lordship's most loving son-in-law,

ANTONY MOUNTAGUE.

1606—1614.

[Miscellaneous News.]

MR. PORY TO SIR ROBERT COTTON.

[Marriage of the Earl and Countess of Essex. Account of a mask by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones.]

SIR,

January, 1606.

EVER since your departure I have been very unfit to learn any thing, because my hearing

(which Aristotle calls *sensus eruditissimus*) hath, by an accidental cold, been almost taken from me, which makes me very unsociable and to keep within doors; yet not in such a retired fashion, but that I have seen both the mask on Sunday and the barriers on Monday night.

The bridegroom* carried himself as gravely and gracefully as if he were of his father's age. He had greater gifts given him than my Lord of Montgomery had, his plate being valued at £3000, his jewels, money, and other gifts, at £1000 more. But to return to the mask. Both Inigo, Ben,† and the actors, men and women, did their parts with great commentation. The conceit, or soul of the mask, was Hymen bringing in a bride, and Juno, Pronuba's priest, a bridegroom, proclaiming that those two should be sacrificed to nuptial union. And here the poet made an apostrophe to the union of the kingdoms. But before the sacrifice could be performed, Ben Jonson turned the globe of the earth, standing behind the altar, and within the concave sat the eight men-maskers, representing the four humours and the four affections, who leaped forth and disturbed the sacri-

* Robert, Earl of Essex, married, at the age of fourteen, to Frances, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, she being only thirteen. The marriage took place in January 1606. The troubles afterwards occasioned by it are very well known.—See Goodman, p. 221.

† Jonson. This mask is printed among his works.

fice to union. But amidst their fury, Reason, that sat above them all, crowned with burning tapers, came down and silenced them. These eight, together with Reason, their moderator, mounted above their heads, sat somewhat like the ladies in the scallop-shell, the last year. About the globe of earth, hovered a middle region of clouds, in the centre of which stood a grand concert of musicians, and upon the canton, or horns, sat the ladies, four at one corner and four at another, who descended upon the stage, downright perpendicular fashion, like a bucket into a well, but came gently slipping down. These eight, after the sacrifice was ended, represented the eight nuptial powers of *Juno pronuba*, who came down to confirm the union. The men were clad in crimson, and the women in white; they had every one a white plume of the richest herons' feathers, and were so rich in jewels upon their heads, as was most glorious. I think they hired and borrowed all the principal jewels and ropes of pearl, both in court and city. The Spanish ambassador seemed but poor to the meanest of them. They danced all variety of dances, both severally and *promiscue*; and then the women took in men, as, namely, the prince, who danced with as great perfection and as settled a majesty, as could be devised. The Spanish ambassador, the Archduke's ambassador, the Duke, &c. and the men, gleaned out of the Queen, the bride, and the greatest of the ladies.

The second night the barriers were as well performed by fifteen against fifteen, the Duke of Lenox being chieftain on the one side, and my Lord of Sussex on the other.

But to leave these sports, and fall to more serious matters. On Friday last, the old Venetian lieger, Molino, presented to the King and Prince a new lieger, Justiniano. I say to the Prince, because they delivered a letter from the Signory to him as well as to the King. They came to the court in thirteen coaches; they were apparalled in black gowns, lined with the richest fur of all others, black fox. * * *

Tui semper, &c. &c. * * *

J. PORY.†

1609-10.

LADY COMPTON † TO WILLIAM LORD COMPTON,
HER HUSBAND.

[Written upon occasion of his coming into possession of a large fortune.]

MY SWEET LIFE,

Now I have declared to you my mind for the settling of your state, I supposed that that were

† Cotton MS. Julius C. iii. f. 35.

‡ Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Spencer, who was Lord Mayor of London, in 1594; died in March, 1609-10, worth £300,000; some said £800,000, which vast accession of property threw Lord Compton at first into a state of distraction.—Win-

best for me to bethink or consider with myself what allowance were meetest for me. For considering what care I ever had of your estate, and how respectfully I dealt with those, which both by the laws of God, of nature, and civil polity, wit, reli-

wood, iii. 136 ; where the following remarks occur in a letter from Beaulieu to Trumbull, dated March, 1609 :—" On Tuesday, the funerals of Sir John Spencer were made, where some thousands did assist in mourning cloaks or gowns, amongst which there were 320 poor men, who had every one a basket given them, stored with the particular provisions set down in this note inclosed ;* but to expound to you the mystical meaning of such an antic furniture, I am not so skilful an Œdipus, except it doth design the Horn of Abundance, which my Lord Compton hath found in that succession. But that poor lord is not like, if God doth not help him, to carry it away for nothing, or to grow very rich thereby, being in great danger to lose his wits for the same ; whereof being at the first news, either through the vehement apprehension of joy for such a plentiful succession, or of carefulness how to take it up and dispose it, somewhat distracted, and afterwards reasonably well restored, he is now of late fallen again (but more deeply) into the same frenzy, so that there seemeth to be little hope of his recovery. And what shall these thousands and millions avail him if he come to lose, if not his soul, at least his wits and reason. It is a fair and ample subject for a divine to discourse of riches, and a notable example to the world not to woo or trust so much in them. It is given out abroad that he hath suppressed a will of the deceased's, whereby he did bequeath some £20,000 to his poor kindred, and as much *in pios usus* ; for the which the people do exclaim that this affliction is justly inflicted upon him by the hand of God."

* A black gown, four pounds of beef, two loaves of bread, a little bottle of wine, a candlestick, a pound of candles, two saucers, two spoons, a black pudding, a pair of gloves, a dozen of points, two red herrings, six sprats, and two eggs.

gion, government, and honesty, you, my dear, are bound to, I pray and beseech you to grant to me, your most kind and loving wife, the sum of £1600 per ann. quarterly to be paid.

Also I would, besides that allowance for my apparel, have £600, added yearly (quarterly to be paid) for the performance of charitable works, and these things I would not, neither will be accountable for.

Also I will have three horses for my own saddle, that none shall dare to lend or borrow; none lend but I, none borrow but you.

Also I would have two gentlewomen, lest one should be sick or have some other lett. Also believe that it is an undecent thing for a gentlewoman to stand mumping alone, when God hath blessed their lord and lady with a great estate.

Also when I ride a hunting, or a hawking, or travel from one house to another, I will have them attending. So for either of those said women, I must and will have for either of them a horse.

Also I will have six or eight gentlemen; and I will have my two coaches, one lined with velvet, to myself, with four very fair horses; and a coach for my women, lined with sweet cloth, one laced with gold, the other with scarlet, and lined with watched lace and silver, with four good horses.

Also I will have two coachmen, one for my own coach, the other for my women.

Also at any time when I travel, I will be allowed not only carroches and spare horses for me and my women, but I will have such carriages as shall be fitting for all, orderly, not posturing my things with my women's, nor theirs with chamber-maids, nor theirs with wash-maids.

Also for laundresses, when I travel, I will have them sent away before with the carriages to see all safe; and the chamber-maids I will have go before with the grooms, that the chambers may be ready, sweet and clean.

Also, for that it is undecent to crowd up myself with my gentleman-usher in my coach, I will have him to have a convenient horse, to attend me either in city or country. And I must have two footmen. And my desire is, that you defray all the charges for me.

And for myself, besides my yearly allowance, I would have twenty gowns of apparel, six of them excellent good ones, eight of them for the country, and six other of them very excellent good ones.

Also I would have to put in my purse, £2000 and £200; and so you to pay my debts.

Also I would have £6000 to buy me jewels, and £4000 to buy me a pearl chain.

Now, seeing I have been and am so reasonable unto you, I pray you to find my children apparel and their schooling, and all my servants, men and women, their wages.

Also I will have all my houses furnished, and all my lodging chambers to be suited with all such furniture as is fit; as beds, stools, chairs, suitable cushions, carpets, silver warming pans, cupboards of plate, fair hangings, and such like. So for my drawing chamber in all houses, I will have them delicately furnished, both with hangings, couch, canopy, glass, carpet, chair, cushions, and all things thereunto belonging.

Also my desire is, that you would pay your debts, build Ashby House, and purchase lands; and lend no money, as you love God, to the Lord Chamberlain,* which would have all, perhaps your life, from you. Remember his son, my Lord Walden,† what entertainment he gave me when you were at the Tilt-yard. If you were dead, he said he would be a husband, a father, a brother, and said he would marry me. I protest I grieve to see the poor man have so little wit and honesty to use his friend so vilely. Also he fed me with untruths concerning the Charterhouse; but that to the least he wished me much harm: you know him, God keep you and me from him, and any such as he is.

So now that I have declared to you what I would have, and what that is that I would not have, I pray, when you be an earl, to allow me

* Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, made Lord Treasurer in 1603. Of his extravagant habits, see these memoirs, i. p. 290.

† Succeeded his father in the earldom, in 1626.

£1000 more than now desired, and double attendance.

Your loving wife,

ELIZA COMPTON.

MR. JOHN SANFORD TO SIR THOMAS EDMONDS.*

[Amusing description of Spain.]

London, 6th March 1610.

RIGHT HONORABLE, MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THE time of our departure for Spain drawing near, which is assigned about the 20th of March, and myself upon the point of taking my leave of those to whom for love or respect I owe this duty, I thought it fit to begin from your lordship, in whose honorable favors I have found the greatest place of my poor fortunes. It was my grief to be transplanted out of your lordship's house, but that there was cause, and little aid, I think, to have exchanged Brussels for Madrid. But as *incolatus meus in terra mera est peregrinatio*, so God out of his love towards me hath always crossed me in that which I most desired, and taken me from that wherein I most delighted, that this often change should put me in mind of my own change.

My opinion of Spain, as also my affection towards it, is the same that ever it hath been. I

* Birch, 4176, f. 32.

hear Catholics lately come from thence to speak much good of the country. But when I read Clenard's epistle of his journey thither, I am apt to believe the contrary; who having been a public reader at Louvain, as he posted through Biscay, having broken a little drinking glass, he was fain to drink water, like Diogenes, in his hand, because all the village was not able to lend him another. Near Valladolid he could hardly get a faggot of vine branches to warm him in sharp weather. His supper at night was indeed, as he saith, *cœna dubia*, not as the Latins meant it—a plentiful supper, which made the guests in doubt where to feed; but *quod incertum erat an cogere-tur jejunare*. His *olla* was a little poor deal of bacon, which he was fain to buy *unciatim*—by ounces. His stomach roaring for want of victuals, he was forced to betake himself to roast onions, as to his *sacra anchora*. His inn could not afford him either bed or straw, but having hired three black Moors, whom he prettily calleth *Dentonem, Nigrinum, Carbonem*, he slept by hanging on their shoulders, or by being stayed up by them; whilst his muleteer *foris delectabatur in strato gramineo*. This narration I first read at Brussels with delight, but being now to make trial of it, I apprehend it with fear and horror, the rather for their sakes amongst us, who having been used to much tenderness will find it strange, after a tedious and dangerous passage by sea, to

be entertained in this kingdom of *Cabul*, a land of mountains and deserts. I held it, as it was indeed, a pleasant journey when mounted *en croupe*, and trod better provinces under my horse's hoof than Spain hath any, and lay every night in a beautiful walled town, plentifully and daintily feed. Now I am told for certain, that my Spanish jennet may be a Biscayan mule, which will fling as if with her heels she would hit him that rideth on her back, which will ease me from one of my pains, that whereas I should be in fear of climbing those wearisome cliffs and mountains, now I shall only be in care where to fall soft. Our cities poor hamlets, whose mud-wall houses, (as our Philpot was wont to say,) like young whelps, see not till nine days after they be made, their windows being scored and cut out. Our ventas and hostelries without victuals or lodgings, which made Clenard to cry out upon them—"O *Lusitani, tollite falsa vocabula. Vocatur diversorium, ubi nec comedendi nec dormiendi datur facultas.*"

My good lord, whilst I make myself as merry as I can with this my journey into Spain, I have an inkling of irresolution of leaving the ocean to our household, and of Sir John Digby's and my lady's passing through France: and indeed there is great reason for it; for in her safety and her young son's, is shipped the greatest stay of our present fortunes; the estate which Sir John

doth now enjoy by her being set at £1200 by the year; her son also being a tender child, and the last of his name in England, who, if he should fail, his fair estate would clear be dissipated. I might add also his eldest brother, Sir Richard Digby's heir, that is to be Baron of La Faile, in Ireland, besides his father's inheritance here in England. These considerations make us turn sail to coast by France, which puts me in some hope of seeing your lordship once again.

For news, I know your lordship hath certain advertisements from others. Only thus much is evident to mine own faculty. My Lord of London* is lately become Archbishop of Canterbury, and it is thought that Dr. King shall succeed him.

There is a flying speech here of the death of my Lord of York.† Upon the remove of the Bishop of Gloucester‡ to Worcester, Dr. Tasker (who is now printing an answer to Becanus, as the Bishop of Ely is against Bellarmine) had thought to have succeeded, and had a grant of it from the King; but Dr. Tomson, Dean of Windsor, hath carried it from him. Dr. Buckenridge is Lord elect of Rochester.

* * * * *

Your Lordship's ever to serve,

JOHN SANFORD.

* Dr. George Abbot.

† Toby Matthews.

‡ Dr. Henry Parry.

MR. LORKIN TO SIR THOMAS PUCKERING, BART.

[Description of the arrival of the King of Denmark.]

SIR,

July 29, 1614.

MR. WHITWICK, at his departure hence, commended the care of your businesses to me, who having this week received and perused your letters to him, to see if I might help aught to the satisfying of the contents thereof, I understand thereby the great danger, both which you have incurred and avoided. I bless God and congratulate you on so happy and miraculous a deliverance; the circumstances whereof most worthily lead you to a serious contemplation of the Divine Providence. * * *

Since my last letters there hath nothing occurred here worth the writing; only I shall be able to relate unto you somewhat more fully the manner of the King of Denmark's coming, together with all the conceits and opinions of men touching the cause thereof. As touching the first it was in this sort. When he left home, he pretended an interview to be had between himself, the Dukes of Saxe, Brunswick, and Hulst, at a certain town situate upon the confines of Germany, whither he must necessarily use the benefit of the sea for the transporting of himself. Having, therefore, the better to color his design, commanded all his train to go before and to attend his arrival at such a place, he with three of his council, and half a

dozen other gentlemen, with as many trumpeters and as many of his guards, embarked themselves in pretence for Germany, but with an intention for England. None of them that were embarked with him were privy to his purpose save the three of his council and the three masters of the ships, which were the number of the ships that came along with him. He landed here at Yarmouth, and thence took post-horses here to London, where dining at an ordinary inn, near Aldgate, he hired a hackney coach, and presently addressed his course to the Queen's court, and entered the presence before any person had the least thought of him. There Cardel, the dancer, gave the first occasion of discovering him, by saying that that gentleman was the likest the King of Denmark that ever he saw any in his life, which a Frenchman, one of his Majesty's servants, hearing, and viewing his countenance well, whom he had seen the last time of his being here, grew confident that it was he; and presently ran to carry the news thereof to the Queen, who sat then at dinner, privately, in her gallery at Somerset House. The Queen at first scorned him for his labour, so vain it appeared, and thought it some fantastic *capriccio* of a French brain. But the King, following close after, and begging silence with the beckoning of his hands as he entered, came behind her and embraced her ere she was aware, and saluting her with a kiss, taught her the verity of that which before she be-

lieved to be a falsehood. Presently she took off the best jewel she wore about her, and gave it the Frenchman for his tidings, despatched a post to his Majesty, who was then well onward on his progress, and then intended the care of his entertainment.

The stealth of the journey, and other circumstances of his arrival, gave subject of fear at the first that it was for some great distress at home, which point being since cleared, it is as strongly conceited that it is for some notable design abroad, and specially with relation to Germany. But some of the wiser sort think that it is to accommodate some particular differences here; whereof I think fit to give you only this touch, which I wish may rest likewise with yourself.

His entertainment here hath been hunting, bear-baiting, running at the ring, and fencing. Upon Monday next our King conveys him to Rochester, and so back to Gravesend, when he takes shipping the day following with intent of returning speedily.

MR. PORY TO SIR ROBERT COTTON.

[Entertainment of the King of Denmark.]*

SIR,

ON Sunday, the King, Queen, and Prince, lying the night before in the Bishop's palace at Rochester, had a Latin sermon in the cathedral church,

* From Birch's Collection.

preached by Dr. Parry, who delivered a good matter with so good a grace, as their Majesties were very well pleased to hear him. His text was, *Fac judicium et videbis faciem Domini*. The sermon ended, they had their barges at Rochester Bridge, and so ran for the space of two miles along the galleys, ships, and pinnaces, viewing them as they lay, till they came against Upnor Castle. There they mounted the "Elizabeth James," in which their dinner was provided. This ship was joined by a bridge founded upon masts and railed on each side, being 200 feet long, to the Bear, which was fitted in all points for the entertainment of the Danish Lords and others. Between both these royal ships lay a hulk, which served for a kitchen to both. In the Elizabeth the great chamber, being part of the upper deck abaft the main mast, contained a long table for my Lord Chamberlain and other of our English Lords. The same deck, before the main mast, had a table for the ladies. From whence, up a pair of stairs, there was a passage unto the orlop, where was a fair tent set up, lined and hanged, the inside with silks and cloth of gold; at the upper end whereof, under a rich cloth of state, sate the two Kings, the Queen, and Prince, at dinner.

Some time after they had dined they took coach at Upnor Castle on the shore, towards Gravesend, and having gone some three quarters of a mile they made a stand upon a Windmill-hill,

whence they might perfectly view all the whole navy. Then began the galleys next the bridge to discharge, and after them all the pinnaces and ships, in order as they lay, to the number of 1008 great shot. This thunder made such music in the King of Denmark's ears, as he told the King if he had spent half his kingdom in a banquet, he could not have contented him so well; and further, that in requital he gave himself and his heart to do the King, as long as he lived, all friendly offices both in word and deed. Whereto the King answered, that never any man was to him so welcome as the King of Denmark, nor ever should any till he came again.

Yesterday, being Monday morning, between seven and eight of the clock, the King of Denmark returned to his fleet, lying at Gravesend, to make all things ready against the King and Queen should come aboard. About eleven they ascended the Admiral of Denmark, and not above fifty persons were admitted aboard. At every health, there were from the ships of Denmark and the forts some three or fourscore great shot discharged, and of these thundering volleys there were between forty and fifty. You would have thought that Jupiter had been invited. About four of the clock, afternoon, the King of Denmark presented to the King a beautiful and well-contrived firework; it stood upon a lighter, being in form of a square conduit or cubic, with four pillars answer-

ing the four corners. Upon the top of this cube stood a lion with a chain in his hand, which fettered eight capital Vices that sat underneath upon the angles and sides of this cube or ara. This firework was appropriated to the month of July, the lion representing him in the Zodiac, as by these verses, written about him in golden letters, you may well perceive:—

Ecce Leo, summi genuinus Solis alumnus,

Injiciens noxiis ferrea vincla malis,

Te docet injectis Vitium compescere frænis

Scilicet inde viri mens generosa liquet.

To the Vices in particular were ascribed these epigrams:—

Iracundia.

Ora tument, oculique rubent, præcordia fervent.

Hei mihi! dum præceps in mea damna feror.

Desidia.

Pectus iners, semperque sequax ignobilis otî,

Utibilem nulli me facit esse bono.

Luxuria.

Fama, valetudo, res et mens conscia recti,

Ut pereant, * prava Libido facit.

Fallacia.

Ut frontem mihi larva tegit, sic subdola mentem

Lingua, fides verbis ne sit habenda meis.

Invidia.

Cor mihi fortunis aliorum marcet opimis,

Exercetque animum debita pœna meum.

Superbia.

Haud ipsa mihi nota satis sum, meque et mea magni

Cum stolidis faciam, cætera despicio.

* Blank in MS.

Injustitia.

Quid leges, quid jura vetent, nil curo; nec æquum

Quid siet; arbitrii lex mihi sola placet.

Gula.

Pinguis aqualiculus mihi turget, mentis acumen

Hebet, paupertas dum mea tecta petat.

This firework very methodically, one after another, continued burning and cracking for the space of three quarters of an hour; which being consumed, the kings, with tears in their eyes, and most ardent demonstrations of their mutual affections, took their leaves.

The gifts that the King hath bestowed upon the King of Denmark, were a sword and hanger valued at £17,000; item, a cup of £5000; item, to the King of Denmark's council, plate to the value of £2000; item, to his gentlemen, two chains of gold to the same value; and to the inferior Danes, £1000 in money.

The King of Denmark in his gifts hath not been inferior, for he hath given in court 30,000 dollars; viz. to the household beneath the stairs, 15,000 dollars; to the officers above the stairs, 20,000; and to the equerry or stabler, 5000 dollars. Besides, to every one of the King's and Queen's bedchambers he hath given jewels of great value. On the Queen he hath bestowed his picture, richly set with jewels; and on the Prince, his Vice-Admiral, and best fighting ship, being with all her furnitures not less worth than £25,000, and a rapier and hanger valued at 20,000 marks.

Besides all which, he hath bestowed liberally on the navy, &c. To attend his Majesty on his way homeward, Sir Robert Mansell is appointed with the Vanguard and the Moon. * * *

Your most humbly devoted,
Jo. PORY.

1615.

[Overbury,* and the examination of those concerned in his death.]

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY TO THE EARL OF
SALISBURY.†

MY HONORABLE LORD,

As your lordship was a judge of mine innocence before, so would I now crave that favor, that your lordship would vouchsafe to be a witness

* This year was first certainly revealed and brought to a public trial the merciless and inhuman murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, Knight, son and heir-apparent of Thomas Overbury, Esquire, one of the ancient Benchers of the Middle Temple, poisoned at least two years before in the Tower of London. It came first to light by a strange accident of Sir Ralph Winwood, Knight, one of the Secretaries of State, his dining with Sir Jervis Elvis, Lieutenant of the said Tower, at a great man's (the Earl of Salisbury's) table, not far from Whitehall. For that great man commending the same Sir Jervis to Sir Ralph Winwood, as a person, in respect of his many good qualities, very worthy of his acquaintance, Sir Ralph answered him, that he should willingly embrace his acquaintance, but that he could first wish he had cleared himself of a foul suspicion the world generally

† Birch, 4168.

of the submission both of myself and cause to the Queen's mercy : which I desire you rather, because as I understand her Majesty is not fully satisfied of the integrity of my intent that way : and to that purpose, if your lordship will grant me access and audience, I shall hold it as a great favor, and ever rest,

Your lordship's to be commanded,

T. OVERBURY.*

London, 11th of September.

conceived of him, touching the death of Sir Thomas Overbury. As soon as Sir Jervis heard that, being very ambitious of the Secretary's friendship, he took occasion to enter into private conference with him, and therein to excuse himself to have been enforced to connive at the said murther. With much abhorring of it, he confessed the whole circumstances of the execution of it in general, and the instruments to have been set on work by Robert, Earl of Somerset, and his wife. Sir Ralph Winwood having gained the true discovery of this bloody practice from one of the actors, beyond his expectation, parts from the Lieutenant of the Tower in a very familiar and friendly manner, as if he had received good satisfaction by the excuse he had framed for himself ; but soon afterwards acquainted the King's Majesty with it. When the Earl afterwards learned, about the beginning of his troubles, that Sir Ralph Winwood had been the discoverer of his bloody sin, he upbraided him with ingratitude, that having been advanced by his only means to the Secretary's place, he would now become the instrument of his ruin. But Sir Ralph answered him, that for his Secretary's place he might thank seven thousand pounds (if I mistake not the sum a little) which he gave him : and as for the business in question, he could neither with the safety of his life nor conscience have concealed it ; or words to that effect.—D'Ewes, MS. Journal.

* Of Overbury's restoration to favour, a notice occurs in a letter from Sir T. Somerset to Edmondes, 8 Nov. 1611.

THE QUEEN TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

MY LORD,

THE King hath told me that he will advise with you and some other four or five of the council of *that fellow*.* I can say no more, either to make you understand the matter or my mind, than I said the other day. Only I recommend to your care how public the matter is now both in court and city, and how far I have reason in that respect. I refer the rest to this bearer, and myself to your love.

ANNA R.†

MR. JOHN CASTLE TO MR. JAMES MILLES,
AT SOUTHAMPTON.‡

[Execution of Mrs. Turner.—Trial of Sir J. Elwys.—His Execution.—Franklin's Indictment.]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU must not find it strange that my letters come so slowly after yours; mine own private occasions, and the desire to give you a summary of two or three acts of this tragedy at one view, have been the means to make me thus tardy.

* Meaning Overbury.

† Reference has been already made, in Bishop Goodman's narrative, to the hostility which Queen Anne entertained towards Overbury. These letters show in a striking way that her hostility had assumed the character of deep aversion and disgust.

‡ Cotton MSS. Titus, B. vii.

Since I saw you, I saw Mrs. Turner* die. If detestation of painted pride, lust, malice, powdered hair, yellow bands, and the rest of the wardrobe of court vanities; if deep sighs, tears, confessions, ejaculations of the soul, admonitions of all sorts of people to make God and an unspotted conscience always our friends; if the protestation of faith and hope to be washed by the same Savior

* A most pleasing description of Mrs. Turner is given in a poem, called Overbury's Vision, printed about the date of her execution.

It seemed that she had been some gentle dame,
 For on each part of her fair body's frame
 Nature such delicacy did bestow,
 That fairer object of it doth not show;
 Her crystal eye beneath an ivory brow,
 Did show what she at first had been; but now
 The roses on her lovely cheeks were dead;
 The earth's pale colour had all overspread
 Her sometime lively look; and cruel death,
 Coming untimely with his wintry breath,
 Blasted the fruit which, cherry-like in show,
 Upon her dainty lips did whilom grow.
 O how the cruel cord did misbecome
 Her comely neck! and yet by law's just doom
 Had been her death. Those locks, like golden thread,
 That used in youth to enshrine her globe-like head,
 Hung careless down; and that delightful limb,
 Her snow-white nimble hand, that used to trim
 These tresses up, now spitefully did tear
 And rend the same; nor did she now forbear
 To beat that breast of more than lily white,
 Which sometime was the bed of sweet delight.
 From those two springs where joy did whilom dwell,
 Grief's pearly drops upon her pale cheek fell.

Somers' Tracts, ii. 331.

and by the like mercies that Mary Magdalene was, be signs and demonstrations of a blessed penitent, then I will tell you that this poor broken woman went *a cruce ad gloriam*, and now enjoys the presence of her and our Redeemer. Her body being taken down by her brother, one Norton, servant to the Prince, was in a coach conveyed to St. Martin's of the Fields, where in the evening of the same day she had an honest and a decent burial.

Since her death, I was present at the trial of the lieutenant, who entered into his answer with so great art to move affections, and laid his groundwork with so much show of soundness and confidence, binding himself by protestation to God that he would not in the course of his defence speak a lie to save his life, that all men that had brought thither indifferent ears, hath wished him innocent, and expected the conclusion should have been as they wished. But, after long waste of speech, it fared with him as the old Romans observed sometimes to happen to those among them that acted *veterem comædiam*, that did *in actu ultimo deficere*. For an examination of Franklin, taken that very morning, being produced, wherein he confessed the being at the Countess of Essex's chamber with her and Turner, about the preparing of divers poisons, and a letter from the lieutenant being brought to her at that instant, which she could not, for the badness of the hand, well read, he was commanded, as better acquainted with his cha-

racter, to read the same unto her, which he did; and thereof he well remembered one chief passage, which was, that this scab is like the fox, for the more he is cursed, the more he thrives. This passage being urged, he was stricken as with a thunderbolt, having nothing to reply further, either in denial or interpretation. Whereupon there followed the sentence of his death, which he underwent the 20th of this present at Tower Hill, being the place whereon he had obtained, by his suit to my Lord Chief Justice and the rest of the Commissioners, to suffer, to the end he might avoid the ignominy of the common gibbet.

He came from Newgate, whither, according to the custom of prisoners to be executed, he was first delivered by the sheriff, and on foot passed along the high streets to Tower Hill, having on one hand Dr. Felton, and on the other Dr. Whiting, who, as his spiritual guides and pilots, ceased not continually to strengthen him in this tempest, assuring him that he was now within kenning of that port, where all tranquillity and blessedness attended him. Being come to the place, and having ascended the ladder, he began a well ordered speech, acknowledging the justice and roundness that had been used towards him in the proceedings, and the gracious favor he had received to be allowed that place to finish his life upon, whence viewing the stage where he acted his sin, he might the more deeply

imprint the occasions to beget repentance. That if any of his friends had been ill satisfied at the confidence and protestation used in the day of his trial, they would be pleased to excuse him, as being encouraged thereunto out of a persuasion of his innocence; for he had usually in his prayers besought of God pardon of other sins, but not of this touching Overbury's death, never thinking the concealing of a sin to have been a sin. But, since his condemnation, those holy men (meaning the Doctors, his confessors,) had made him see this fearful error and the ugly face of his sin, which was great and bloody; for that when it was in his power to have hindered the proceedings of the poisoners, he suffered them to go on to the murdering of an honest gentleman, and one that had commended himself to his trust, whereby he became guilty, though no actor, not only of his blood, but was in some sort as a cause, *sine qua non*, of their blood that were dead for the fact before him, and of the effusion of theirs to follow, which were many. He added, that worldly respects had been the begetters of this sin in him, and that he had notes and instructions from time to time from the Earl of Northampton and Sir Thomas Monson for the usage of his prisoner, of whom, as of all other persons and circumstances belonging to that subject, he had the Sunday before given a full and true confession to my Lord Chief Justice. That

he had taken the seals of the precious body and blood of Christ upon it, as a sign of the truth of his confession; and would now with his own blood, though the same was most base and impure, and unworthy to have mention after the other, witness that he had delivered all the truth that was within his knowledge. He passed from hence to recite the infinite mercies of God, that had not taken him away by any sudden judgment, either by water, by shooting the bridge, or by walking in the streets, or by an ordinary visitation in his bed; by either of which if he had died, he thought he had departed in a fearful estate, not having been possessed of the knowledge nor of the contrition due for such a heinous sin. He professed his true and unfeigned sorrow for it, with assured hope that he was bound up in the bundle of the living; and that the blessed angels were now about him, to carry his soul within a few minutes unto those eternal mansions, where he should see his Saviour face to face. Then he made a most fervent and devout prayer. After he exhorted all that saw him to take heed of looseness of life and hypocrisy, telling them that his youth had been riotous and wasteful, repeating two judgments wherein he saw God had found him in this very business; the one for having wished, upon a time when he had lost much by gaming, that God would give him grace to forbear it, and that if he

ever played again hanging might be his end. "Which," said he, "is now come upon me; for, allured by company, it was not long after that I broke this vow and wish. The next was his excessive pride in the faculty of his pen, wherein Northampton and others of able judgments had given him much commendation, as having more ableness than other men. And now he found that his own hand-writing proved a snare to take his life; for he said, he thought, on his conscience, if it had not been for that letter mentioned in Franklin's confession, he had not now lost his life; protesting that he could not yet bring to mind why he writ any such letter to the countess. He told the people that he knew what infamy such a kind of death had, which he was then presently to undergo; but the manner of it presented itself to his consideration as a physical potion come to the hand of the patient, which do swallow it down, not fastening upon the color or bitterness, but upon the end to which it delivers him. And so, having covered his face, he made another prayer; and opening his face a little again, he bade them all farewell, and to pray at that instant for him. Then covering himself again, calling upon the name of God, with more than manly courage, with the touch of the executioner he went down from the ladder.

Thus have you a mangled relation of some

of the observable passages in these two acts, which you must take in good part, being scribbled in great haste.

The next that follows upon the stage is Franklyn, who was yesterday arraigned at Westminster, and sentenced to die at Tyburn. On Thursday next, Sir Thomas Monson comes to the bar; the bill of his indictment was found by the grand inquest to be *billa vera* on Thursday last. It is generally said that the Lord of Somerset shall come to his trial on the 5th of December. He still seems not to be shaken with these storms, making great protestations to the lieutenant present what he will do when he shall return to his wonted station and brightness. If this constancy and carelessness be of innocency, I should admire him as a man that hath his mind of an admirable building; but if it proceed from insensibleness, I will pity him as more wretched than those that have been found nocent: *nihil miserius est homine non seipsum miserante*. I have sent you two letters of the countess, urged at Turner's arraignment; you will see by them how abusively her lust wronged those great judgments that spake for her separation from that noble Essex, upon whom they practised *magiam maleficam*, to restrain him, *impotens esset ad coeundum*. If Cornelius Agrippa were again to compile his book *De Veneficiis*, I doubt not but he might have from her magicians such arcana to increase and recommend it, that the Bohemian ladies would

more value him than to suffer him, as they did, to die like a poor beggarly knave. These flashes of poetry inclosed, when you shall have transcribed, I pray return them to me, and let it be with the first. Sir William Monson hath been lately sent for to appear here, but cannot be found. Sir Robert Cotton, the antiquary, hath withdrawn himself, *et in angulis latet*. Jewels of the Lord of Somerset, to the value of £60,000, were lately surprised, that had been committed to Cotton's trust.

The Earl of Northampton's name was much used at the arraignment of the lieutenant; his letters to Somerset were read, touching the marriage of his lordship with that virtuous lady his kinswoman. It would turn chaste blood into water to hear the unclean and unchaste phrases that were contained in them, But *olebat Gorgonius hircum*.

Vale ex anima, et ama tuissimum,

J. CASTLE.

28th November 1615.

SIR JOHN THROCKMORTON TO MR. WILLIAM
TRUMBULL,

RESIDENT FOR KING JAMES AT BRUSSELS.

[Execution of Sir J. Elwys.—Indictment of Sir Thomas Monson.—The Countess of Somerset.]

SIR,

I HAVE received yours, written at your landing at Dunkirk, and I doubt not by that you have

heard that Gervase Helwyse was hanged upon Tower Hill, accusing there openly the Earl of Northampton and Sir Thomas Monson for drawing him to this villany, which brought him to that shameful end. He confessed that he died justly for the fact, and commended the justice of the King and State. He hath impeached many, as he said, for the clearing of his conscience: some are in the Tower, some in the city, some in the country. Believe me, sir, the Lords Commissioners are perplexed, as not yet seeing the brim or bottom of this business.

Upon Thursday last Sir Thomas Monson was indicted as accessory to the death of Overbury, and upon Thursday next he shall be arraigned at Guildhall of London. There are other persons detected to have a finger in this poisoning business; three executed already; then the Earl and his lady, Monson, Franklin, Savory, Horne, Margaret, Stephen, and Monson's man.

The Earl seems little to care for this aspersion, and shows no manner of change in his countenance, which is strange, seeing that by manifest proofs it is otherwise, which was delivered in public courts; but he knoweth not what is said or done abroad, being a close prisoner.

I hear the Lieutenant of the Tower hath now commission to acquaint him with the arraignments and executions past, and with the discovery of his casket, wherein strange letters appear

touching this business in hand, and others also, as is supposed.

The Lady Somerset's furthest reckoning is three weeks before Christmas at least, which is now at hand. She is very pensive and silent, and much grieved. It is thought she is come to the knowledge of the proceedings abroad by some of her servants that attend her.

We hope, upon the King's return, that my Lord of Pembroke shall be Lord Chamberlain.

We hear, that in February next the purpose of calling a parliament doth hold.

It is said that the Lord Deputy of Ireland makes means to leave that government, and that he shall come over.

By passengers which yesterday arrived here from London, I understand that on Monday last Franklin was executed, and that yesterday Sir Thomas Monson was to be arraigned, and will undoubtedly pass the same passage which his other wicked companions have gone before him. There is an eye cast upon some others, the best of his own tribe also. You may easily guess whom I mean. The next who will play their part in this tragedy, will be the Earl and his lady, and then undoubtedly we shall be able to see into the bottom of this and their other wicked practices.*

* From the MSS. of Sir R. Winwood. Transcribed by Dr. Birch.

SIR JOHN THROCKMORTON TO MR. TRUMBULL,
FROM FLUSHING, SENDING HIM AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER
FROM ENGLAND.

[Sir Thomas Monson's arraignment.]

ON Monday last Sir Thomas Monson was committed to the Tower, for business of a higher nature than the death of Sir Thomas Overbury. My Lord Chief Justice said, that God had discovered a practice for which the whole state was bound to give God great thanks, which should be discovered in due time. It is thought that upon Tuesday next Sir Thomas Monson will be called again, and then we shall understand what this great business is. Sir Thomas, when he came this first time to his arraignment, desired that my Lord Treasurer might not be far off from the place; whereof when my Lord Treasurer had knowledge given him, which was done by my Lord Chief Justice, he wrote a letter to my said Lord Chief Justice, by which he said he could not tell why Sir Thomas Monson required his presence; for he could neither accuse him, nor would he excuse him, but he hoped he would acquit himself to be an honest man.

Again, when Sir Thomas Monson's indictment was read unto him at the bar, he said he did put himself upon his country, but therewithall used such protestations and obtestations of his innocency, as made all the hearers wonderfully

amazed. Whereupon my Lord Chief Justice,* observing that the people were something staggered thereat, said, turning himself to Sir Thomas Monson, "It appeareth to be true now, what I have long since heard of you, Sir Thomas, which is, that you are indeed a very atheist, for here you shame my Christianity, the proofs being so plain which are to be produced against you." The Queen's attorney told him, that if he did not prove him to be as guilty of the death of Sir Thomas Overbury as Weston was, who was hanged already, he would never be seen to speak at any bar more. But my Lord Chief Justice broke off all other matters, saying, as before, "We have greater things against you, Sir Thomas, than this; and therefore I will adjourn the business till another time, and send you to the Tower." The which being done, the court broke up for that time.†

1614—1619.

[Miscellaneous News.]

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

[Desires him to assist in raising a loan for the King, upon the
Parliament refusing it.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

June 1614.

I DOUBT not but you have heard what was the

* Lord Chief Justice Coke; this is quite in keeping with his character.

† From the Sloane collection.

issue of this late parliament, and how, by the harsh courses of some men, his Majesty received no kind of satisfaction in that great cause wherefore he called them, that is to say, for the supplying of his necessities. This event producing a great damp on all sides, it pleased God to put into the mind of my lords the Bishops, after the expiring of the convocation, to think upon some course how they might, in some measure, testify their duty unto their sovereign by some free will offering.

The matter whereupon they resolved was, that every bishop should voluntarily send unto the King the best piece of plate which he had; and if his Majesty should be pleased to accept of this, then we promised to move the civilians, and others of the abler sort of the clergy, according to their proportion to do the like. In brief, his Majesty graciously accepted it, conceiving that it would produce that effect whereat we principally aimed, that this our example would bring on the lords and others of the temporalty to do the like. And, verily, God blessed our intendments, for his Highness immediately making it known in the court, the lords of the council and the rest of the nobility presently took it up, and not only themselves do perform the same, but sent forthwith to the Judges, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, together with other persons of special note, so that I trust the harvest will be

great throughout the better sort of the whole kingdom. We of the bishops that were here presently sent in our gifts, myself leading the way ; and some of our company, not having any piece of plate sufficient to express their zeal to this service, sent in some one of smaller worth, but filled with gold, so that it made a present of reasonable value. The desire of us all is, that your lordship will bear a part in this work, and that you will move the clergy in your diocese to send in such a voluntary gratification, whereunto those which were here in convocation already prepared, out of this ground, that if the parliament had obtained the expected success, they might well have conceived that they should have granted no less than three or four subsidies. Our meaning in this is, that no poor man should be grated on, but that it should come freely from the purses of those who are of ability, and shall part with that which is of ornament and luxury, rather than of necessity ; and where men are unwilling to part with their plate, they may send in some convenient sum of money as a redemption for the same. I pray your lordship, with all diligence and dexterity, to set yourself to this work, wherein I trust all good men will concur with alacrity ; for it is a shame unto our whole nation that so good and gracious a King should be driven to necessity, when we, his people, do live in plenty. And I know it

was a singular comfort unto his Majesty, that, when some have been unrespective of him, there were not wanting others which remembered their duty, and that so opportunely. So ceasing to be any way further troublesome unto your lordship, with my hearty commendations,

I rest your so very loving brother,

G. CANT.*

Lambeth, the . . . of June 1614.

I entreat your lordship to send me word what you do herein, and, when you shall convey it up, to send me a note of all the parties, and of the proportion of their gifts, that I may make up a book of all that is bestowed throughout the whole kingdom.†

To the Right Reverend Father in God, my good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Norwich, give these.

ARCHBISHOP ABBOT TO SIR GEORGE VILLIERS,
AFTERWARDS DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Upon his rise at Court.]

MY GEORGE,

YOUR letter came to me divers days after the writing of it; but, upon the first sight, I saw the gentleman had run into that error whereinto some other besides himself have lately fallen; and that is, to think that any layman might be capable of the mastership of Mr. Sutton's Hos-

* Dr. George Abbot. † Tan. lxxiv. p. 51. In Tanner's hand.

pital. I asked him gently, whether he did use to preach every Sunday or not. He told me no. But, said I, that place requireth such a one. He was hardly at first persuaded thereunto, till I was forced to intreat him to believe me. At last he saw his error, and there an end. And now, my George, because out of your kind affection towards me, you style me your father, I will from this day forward repute and esteem you for my son, and so hereafter know yourself to be. And in token thereof I do now give you my blessing again, and charge you, as my son, daily to serve God; to be diligent and pleasing to your master, and to be wary that, at no man's instance, you press him with many suits, because they are not your friends who urge those things upon you, but have private ends of their own, which are not fit for you. So, praying God to bless you, I rest

Your very loving father,

G. CANT.*

Lambeth, Dec. 10, 1615.

To my very loving son, Sir George Viller, Knight,
and Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed-chamber.

CHIEF JUSTICE COKE TO VISCOUNT VILLIERS.

[Being out of favour he desires to be present at the Prince's creation.]

RIGHT HONORABLE MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

WHERE in my last letters I gave your lordship humble thanks, that, by your honorable means,

* Tanner, lxxiv. p. 80. Orig.

his Majesty had vouchsafed to have me heard, I take God to witness my meaning was to hear me, (according to my humble petition exhibited to his Majesty by Sir Walter Aston,) to answer to such suggestions as should be made against me. And by Sir Walter Aston I received this royal answer, that his Majesty would still be a just King, and would have me heard before any proceedings were had against me, which have been no small comfort to my heavy heart. For the matter of his Majesty's service, I humbly desire either to attend myself on his Majesty to impart the same, or that I may deliver the particulars thereof to your lordship (I having already touched the general,) that you may acquaint his Majesty therewith.

His Majesty's commandment, delivered to me by my Lord Chancellor before this last term, was, that I should not sit in the King's Bench before his Majesty had considered of the exceptions to my book of reports; where, amongst 500 cases and more, published in an eleven several volumes, five single questions were made to five particular points in certain cases: whereunto, within four days, I have given particular answers in writing, and showed my reasons. But my Lord Chancellor, when he received mine answers, said, that he was not to dispute with me. So as I, hearing neither reason nor authority against me, but a bare question propounded to me, and of

some things that have been published seven years past, I could not receive any satisfaction from them, that was not admitted to have any conference with them. And I, knowing the sincerity of his Majesty's justice, (for the which he is the most renowned King in the Christian world,) did ever persuade myself that they which had informed against me should not be my judges, and therefore his Majesty was pleased to vouchsafe the hearing of it himself.

And seeing I was commanded, in his Majesty's name, not to sit in the King's Bench until his Majesty had considered of the exceptions to my reports; and Mr. Attorney added, that in all other things I must exercise and execute my office, I thought it good to acquaint your lordship therewith, to the end you may be pleased to make what use thereof you in your wisdom shall think fit; assuring your lordship, that never any one book was written of any human learning, that was not in some part or other subject to exception.

A commandment hath been given to the judges in general to attend this day at the most noble and hopeful Prince's creation; and albeit I am restrained only from sitting in the King's Bench, and in all other things at liberty; and though it should be a comfort of comforts to me to see my gracious great master and this joyful creation, yet, fearing to offend his Majesty in any

thing, I will not presume to do that which I most desire before I know (as in all other things I will) his Majesty's pleasure therein. And shall ever remain,

At your lordship's command and service,

EDWARD COKE.*

4th November 1616.

To the Right Hon. his singular good Lord, the Lord
Viscount Villiers, Master of his Majesty's horse.

SIR L. CRANFEILD TO VISCOUNT VILLIERS.

[The abuses in the King's revenues.]

RIGHT HONORABLE MY MOST HONORED LORD,

THIS morning the Commissioners for the Navy wrote a postscript in Sir Thomas Smythe's letter to Mr. Secretary Nanton, about Sir Walter Raleigh's ship, which we estimated at seven or eight thousand pounds, being the value, as we have laid grounds, to build and rig his Majesty's ships hereafter. But according as his Highness hath hitherto paid, it might well be estimated at double that sum; and therefore your lordship may be pleased to move his Majesty to reserve it for himself, (for a better cannot be built,) and to satisfy Sir William St. John by some other suit.

We spend our time wholly about the navy, and now take comfort in our work, finding it

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiv. 83.

falls out far beyond our hopes, for the service of his Majesty and his kingdoms; and do rest in assurances, by the continuance of your lordship's favor towards us, (to the King,) to effect that work which hath been so often attempted in vain, both in his Majesty's time and the late Queen's.

I will not trouble your lordship with the abuses which we every day discover, being such as you will hardly believe; as that when ships were to be brought up to Woollich or Debtford to be repaired, it had been better for his Majesty to have given them away at Chatham, and £300 or £400 in money, to any that would have taken them. The like for the trees felled out of his Majesty's woods, which have cost more for carriage than his Highness might have bought the timber, and had it laid free in his yard. We have at this instant an offer made us to serve his Majesty with timber, and to lay it, free of all charge, where we will appoint, for the same price his Majesty hath formerly paid for carriage; but we will make no such ill match for his Highness, and then your lordship may imagine how the King hath been dealt with. I humbly pray your lordship to inform his Majesty how we proceed, which will be most pleasing, as I hope.

We have taken an exact survey of his Majesty's navy, as well of the hulls as of the rigging, (which we find in no commendable estate,) and

yet hath stood his Majesty in an excessive charge, not less (for aught we can yet perceive) than near fifty thousand pounds yearly.

We have divided the ships that are repairable from those that are wholly decayed and fit for fire-wood, of which sort there are one fourth part of his Majesty's navy.

For those ships that are fit to be repaired we have set down every defect very particularly, with the charge they will stand his Majesty in to make them ready for service upon all occasions.

We have set down the true causes of the decay of his Majesty's navy, and of the excessive charge, with the remedy for both. The last part I know will please the King.

We have laid a foundation to bring the King's navy into as glorious an estate, both for strength and honor, as ever it was, by repairing two ships yearly, and building two ships new yearly, till the navy be complete; and do hope it shall not stand the King in (and had almost written) above the half the money it doth now, which your lordship will say were a stranger piece of service.

But that which shall crown this work I will acquaint your lordship with at my coming to court, being a concept of my own how to keep the navy in that good order and at that charge we shall settle it, for without that, all the rest will not be much worth, and shall also let your honor see there is now a means for his Majesty

to do it, which none of his predecessors had. So that I hope your lordship will be pleased to be of my opinion, that God reserved this great work for his Majesty's time, and hath raised your lordship to be the honorable mean and instrument to his Highness in it.

For the propositions I made concerning the Hollander, I will bring them with me in writing upon Sunday next, (at which time I will wait upon your lordship,) and I will then give his Majesty an account of the examination made by Mr. Secretary Locke, (by his Highness' appointment,) of him that cozened his Majesty in the first trial made about the alum, which we find foul (for I was this day present at his examination). I will then give his Highness an account of all other his commands; and therefore will be no further troublesome to your lordship, but humbly take leave and ever rest,

Your lordship's faithfullest servant and lover,

LIONELL CRANFEILDE.*

September 3d, 1618.

To the Right Honorable and singular good Lord,

My Lord the Marquis of Buckingham.

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiv. 170. On all subjects connected with the different departments of finance, Lord Cranfeild's correspondence furnishes great information. Very many of his letters are preserved in the Bodleian Library and in the British Museum; and it is somewhat remarkable that they should have attracted so little attention.

MR. LORKIN TO SIR THOMAS PUCKERING, BART.*

[Various news of the day.—A Frenchman makes an attempt on the King's life.—Account of a duel between Sir H. Rich and Sir Edward Villiers.—Stuckley's complaint to King James, and the King's characteristic reply.]

SIR,

I SIGNIFIED in some of my former letters, the Duke de Rohan was expected here ambassador, but acquainted you not with the particular circumstances, because I could not build any sure ground upon the author of my intelligence, who yet, even at first, delivered me what I understand to be certain now, that Mr. Wake, in his passage from Turin to England, took Paris in his way, where being arrived, and public notice taken of him as a minister of state for the King of England, two persons of quality came to visit him, persuading him to go and kiss the French King's hand. He excused it by telling them that he was not ignorant of the disgusts that had happened between the two kings, and that he thought it not safe for him to adventure upon such an act without warrant from his master. They intreated him that he would not depart the town till he heard from them, which he promised. The day following the Duke of Rohan came unto him, and sought to prevail with him in that wherein the two former were refused; but his answer was still suitable to that before. He con-

* From a copy by Dr. Birch in the Sloane collection.

cluded his visit, as did the other, that he would not leave the city till he understood further. The next morning came a messenger to him from the King, with this errand, that he desired him to commend him to the King, his brother, and tell him, that ere long he would send the Duke of Rohan in an extraordinary embassy to him to give him satisfaction, and if that would not suffice, he would come himself. And the Secretary of State is there committed under pretence of having proceeded in some of these late businesses without commission from his master. There hath been lately presented to his Majesty a book of no small contentment, which was printed at Toledo *cum privilegio*, and written by commandment of the King of Spain, wherein the Pope's encroachments upon princes is largely opposed, and the temporalities of Kings against all the Pope's usurpation notably defended.

A certain Frenchman having heretofore presented something to his Majesty in writing, and being rewarded according to the quality of his desert, though not to his content, used some threatening speeches, as that it had been better for his Majesty to have rewarded him more liberally, for which insolency of his he was banished. This man these holidays had placed himself behind a door, where the King was to pass from the guard-chamber to the chapel; and being descried by Dr. Bowles, one of his Majesty's

chaplains, who knew him, and what had formerly passed upon him, was, upon his discovery, presently apprehended. Being searched, there was found in his pocket a long knife and thirty twenty-shilling pieces. This, with his former poverty, made the jealousy the greater. He was committed close prisoner, and upon the aforesaid presumption, men apprehend a treacherous intent.

The voice holds strong for Sir Henry Cary's being made Master of the Wards, who shall withal receive an addition of honor, and be made a baron. But that rumour of Sir Edward Villiers succeeding him grows faint; some think upon a hope himself hath of compassing yet his former design of being Deputy of Ireland; others say upon the earnest suit that Sir Henry Cary makes to hold both places, which the King inclines to grant, out of a secret intention (as is thought) of restoring the disposition of that place to Sir Henry Wotton, who is to come home from Venice, and is to be here this next spring. This I conceive to be not improbable.

My Lord Digby's employment into Spain is like to be deferred till towards August, when he is to go in quality of ambassador extraordinary. Sir Walter Aston shall be dispatched away as lieger this spring, whereof I long since gave you notice; but then it was only in deliberation, now it grows to execution.

I think I advertised you the last week of the

match that is likely to be concluded between the Marquis of Hamilton for his son, and my Lady Bedford for her niece, Mrs. Chichester. The Countess, they say, is content to pass over presently all the land of my Lord Harrington unto him, reserving only to herself a state for life.

Sir Thomas Lake's business it is thought will receive more favorable issue than was imagined. The Marquis* was, within these few days, at his house to visit him, whereupon men form and build conjectures.

My Lord Scrope's patent is now drawing for the presidentship of York. He is to make up the sum already tendered to my Lord Sheffield, £4500, and £1500 is to be given elsewhere by way of gratuity. My Lord Sheffield, at the resigning up of his interest, had this further testimony of the King's favor, that at his request his Majesty was content to knight every one of the council at York, before not knighted, which were divers, and there became a further profit to his lordship.

There hath been lately a great quarrel here at court, betwixt Sir Harry Rich † and Sir Edward Villiers, ‡ upon this ground and in this manner.

* The Marquis of Buckingham.

† Made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards advanced to the titles of Lord Kensington and Earl of Holland. He was beheaded, March 9, 1649.

‡ Brother to the Marquis of Buckingham.

Sir Henry Rich discerning a change in the Marquis's behaviour towards him, conceived presently some ill offices to have been done by some, and addressed himself to Sir Edward Villiers by way of friendship, that if he were privy to any such matter, he might know his accuser and come unto his purgation; and pressing the point very far, Sir Edward asked him what he would say if he brought him the man to his face to justify what had been reported to my lord; the other replied, he would esteem it a special favor and courtesy. "To-morrow," replied Sir Edward, "I will so order it, that you shall here speak with him," being then at court. Sir Henry Rich returned answer, "that would be no fit place, and would more willingly meet him somewhere else." In fine, Sir Edward Villiers told him, himself was the man. "I hope," said the other, "you will do me reason." Thus a challenge was made and accepted, and two seconds appointed; Mr. Charles Rich for his brother, and Sir Epsley* to the contrary. To the field they went, or rather went onwards to the field, for they had not appointed any set place, but rode out all together, and could not agree upon the choice. The report is, that Sir Henry Rich instanced in divers, but they pleased not; and having found one at length to both their humors, a new difference arose between the seconds; for Mr. Rich was fresh come out of France, and would

* Sir Allen Epsley?

needs observe the French custom of fighting with the other second. Epsley told him, he had no quarrel against him, and could not resolve to fight. So whilst these things were disputing, Maxwell,* who was sent after them, comes in and brings them all back ; and I do not hear whether the controversy be determined. I need not give caveat to reserve the particular relation of this quarrel to yourself ; your wisdom will judge it fitting.

I shall conclude with my Lord Admiral's† entertainment of Stuckeley, who, being Vice Admiral of the western ports, and pretending to come and give an account to his lordship of his office, came and placed himself in the dining chamber, there expecting till his lordship passed ; who taking no notice of him, he stepped to him, acquainting him with the occasion of his coming. "What," said my lord, "thou base fellow, thou who art reputed the scorn and contempt of men, how darest thou offer thyself into my presence? Were it not in my own house, I would cudgel thee with my staff, for presuming to be so saucy." Stuckeley made his complaint unto the King, whose answer was, "What wouldest thou have me do? Wouldest thou have me hang him? Of my soul, if I should hang all that speak ill of thee, all the trees of the country would not suf-

* Usher of the Black Rod.

† Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.

fice, so great is the number." This I have at the third hand, Sir Oliver Cromwell being the original reporter. But this likewise I commend to your secrecy, because I know not to what censure the divulging even of such things as these may be subject. And thus, with the tender of my ever bounden duty, I most humbly kiss your hands, and rest

Your most humbly devoted servant,

THOMAS LORKIN.

My Lady Grantham mends, God be thanked.

London, Jan. 5, 1618-9.

THOMAS WALLIS TO DR. WARD,

AT THE SYNOD OF DORT.

[Stukeley arraigned for clipping coin.—The burning of Whitehall.]

* * * The treaty yet holdeth with the states, and it's hoped they shall be dismissed with content to themselves and us. There hath been long speech (and good probabilities) of my Lord Chief Justice Mountague his being Lord Treasurer; but now they say (how truly time will show) that the Earl of Pembroke shall carry it, and that the patent is now in drawing, and that the Viscount Doncaster shall be Lord Chamberlain. You have heard of Sir Lionel Cranfeild's being Master of the Wards, and Sir Robert Field-

ing to succeed him in the Mastership of the Wardrobes. I give but a touch of these things, because you cannot want better intelligence of them by others. But it was reported yesterday for certain, that Sir Lewis Stukeley should this first day of the term be arraigned at the King's Bench bar for clipping of gold, though I hear no more of it; but he is in prison, and must come to it. Sir Walter Raleigh's blood crieth for vengeance, both against him and Manwairing, the Frenchman, his other accuser, who is fled for being Stukeley's consort in clipping. The Vice Chancellor of Cambridge is sick, and not like to escape, but it's like Dr. Gosling shall be his successor; but he and the fellows hath of late been branded with popery, thereby to debar him, in-somuch as Dr. Binge is a suitor for the mastership, and likewise Dr. Goad's friends for him, who are both incapable by statute; but I hear for certain that the fellows of Pembroke Hall stand close for Dr. Goad, objecting arminianism and other matters against the sub-almoner, whom my Lord Elect of Winton[†] standeth for all he can. * * * *

You have heard of the dismal accident at Whitehall, the burning of the banqueting house, and, which is far greater loss, all the records in the Signet Office, and signatures from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. till now, together with all the books and acts of the coun-

[†] Bishop Andrews.

cil, are consumed with fire. And I heard it this day reported, that the city hath offered his Majesty to rebuild it, and that his Majesty in lieu thereof will give unto the city the liberties of the White and Black Friars, and Great St. Bartholomews. You hear also of my Lord of Suffolk and his Countess, that they are to appear in the Star Chamber on Wednesday next, (which is the first Star Chamber day,) whereupon it is expected that they shall be censured for matters of high consequence. Also, it is certainly reported, that his Majesty will be in person at Star Chamber three or four days this term, upon occasion of the Countess of Exeter's case and Sir Thomas Lake's; and it is thought also for the censuring of Peter Vanlore, Cuffeete (?) and other foreigners in the court for transportation of our monies.

* * *

Your worship's assuredly at command,

THOMAS WELLES.*

Jan. 23, 1618.

To the Right Worshipful Mr. Dr. Ward, Master of Sidney College in Cambridge, Archdeacon of Taunton, and one of his Majesty's chaplains and agent at the Synod at Dort.

MR. LORKIN TO SIR THOMAS PUCKERING, BART.

SIR,

Feb. 16, 1618-9.

SINCE my last letter an express courier hath arrived here from our agent at Madrid, that brings

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiv. 237.

none of the most pleasing news, I conceive ; for that my Lord Digby in charactering the letters, which were written in ciphers, was observed to be extraordinarily sad and melancholy. But these things, whatsoever they be, are as yet a hid mystery. That which was not covered under cyphers imported, as I hear, a declaration from Mr. Cottington, in the King of Spain's name, that these preparations of his have no manner of reference to our quarters, with protestation only for Algiers. His Majesty, I hear, applauding that design of his, replies, that he will put his navy in a readiness likewise, to assist and second so brave an enterprise ; and to-morrow my Lord Admiral goes to Chatham, &c. to view the navy and to give order accordingly. My Lord Sheffield† is appointed to be Vice-admiral of the fleet, if the matter come over to execution. And some say my Lord of Southampton shall command our land forces. His Majesty hath written to the knights of the shire and justices of peace in these quarters ; the one to provide that the * * * soldiers be diligently trained, all others mustered, and * * * likewise, and to have special care that men and munition be in a readiness ; the other to give order that the beacons be diligently watched, with fire ever ready at hand to give the alarm, which

† Edmund Sheffield, afterwards created Earl of Mulgrave.

may serve as a commentary to the former flourish, that all shows be for aid and assistance.

Upon Saturday last, likewise, his Majesty gave strait command in the Star-chamber, that none might be suffered to be of the commission for the peace whose wife was a recusant, and that a heedful eye should be had to the *andamento* of all the Papists in the land.

That which makes the jealousy the stronger is, the choice the King of Spain hath made of so many English commanders: the Earl of Argyle, who was every day expected at Madrid when the courier parted; Neville, who pretends to be Earl of Westmoreland; Tyrone's son; and Sir Robert Dudley, who is now in the Archduke's court. Though, if it be fit for me to deliver my foolish fancy, I cannot but think the Venetian hath far more reason to apprehend than we; upon these motives. First, for that there is great preparation of galleys and galleons, which are not so proper for our seas; secondly, because the rendezvous is appointed at Barcelona, where the King of Spain may fittest embark his land forces, and set them ashore at Genoa, and afterwards make forward for the Gulf; and, thirdly and lastly, because by this means the Spaniard shall be able *d'une pierre faire deux coups*,—avenge himself upon the Venetian for maintaining the Savoyard against him, and be ready to succour the declining state of the House of Austria, with

others of the Popish faction in Germany, whither haply his first intention led him. Yet it is wisdom, when every man has his sword drawn, not to keep it in his sheath. Diffidence is the mother of prudence.

The great cause is now censured, differently according to the tripartite nature thereof, but all against Sir Thomas Lake. For in the first cause, Sir Thomas Lake, the father, was plaintiff; and Luke Hutton, defendant. Here Sir Thomas Lake is fined £200 to the King; damage to the defendant, £50 more. In the second cause, the Lady of Exeter is plaintiff; Sir Thomas Lake, the lady his wife, the Lady Roos,* Sir Arthur Lake, Sarah Swarton, are defendants. The two former fined at £5000 apiece; the third, at 10,000 marks; the fifth, at £500. Sir Arthur was reputed generally in the conscience of the court guilty, but for want of direct proof not censured. Sir Thomas Lake further condemned in damages to the Countess, £3000. In the third cause, young Sir Thomas Lake, plaintiff; the Countess of Exeter, Elizabeth Gresham, her chamber-maid, George Williams, defendants. The plaintiff here fined to the King at 500 marks; to the Countess, £1000; to Gresham, £100; to Williams, £200; the total sum of all being £22,331 6s. 8d. To this was added a further censure of imprisonment in the Tower, upon their own charges, to Sir

* She was the daughter of Sir Thomas Lake.

Thomas Lake, his lady, and the Lady Roos, during the King's pleasure ; and a public recognition of their offence, for a reparation of honor to the Countess in the most ample manner his Majesty should devise. Sarah Swarton judged to the Fleet ; from thence to be whipped to Westminster, and after from the same place to Cheapside ; there to be branded with F.A., signifying false accusation, one letter on either cheek ; to return back again to the Fleet, there to remain till they be weary of her ; and then to be sent to Bridewell, there to spend and end her days. To this censure the court jointly concurred ; the Lord Digby only excepted, who extenuated Sir Thomas Lake's offence, and mitigated his fine. And to make the justice of the court more clear in favor of the Countess, the King, after the censure pronounced, delivered in the open court how, when he first took examination thereof from the Lady Roos, he asked her whether she would depose upon her oath what she had affirmed ; who pretended, yes. But when his Majesty commanded the Bible to be brought, and tendered it, she started back and refused to take it ; whereupon his Majesty dismissed her and sent for her father, bade him be advised what he did, and how far he listened to his daughter's speeches, for that she refused to make good her accusations upon her oath. Sir Thomas went home, dealt with his daughter in private, writes a letter with his own

hand to the King, importing that his daughter was resolved to take her oath, sent his daughter with the letter; but when his Majesty, pressing it upon her conscience, tendered her her oath, she started back as before, and refused a second time,—an evident argument of a guilty conscience. The old serpent, her mother, had beguiled her: she was Eve, who, being beguiled, seduced her father Adam, and with what fruit the world was now witness. This was his Majesty's comparison.

Each man's particular speech I leave to other relations. The Bishop of London's,† Secretary Naunton's, and Sir Fulke Greville's, carried away the prize from the rest. Sir Edward Coke voted first, and what censure he set down the others followed.

Manoury, the French apothecary who joined with Stukeley in the accusation of Sir Walter Raleigh, is taken at Plymouth for clipping of gold, as was his companion. * * * His examination was sent up hither to the King, wherein he * * * (as I hear from Sir Robert Winde, cup-bearer, I think, to his Majesty, who saith he read the examination,) that his accusation against Raleigh was false, and that he was won thereto by the practice and importunity of Stukeley, and now acknowledges this his present miserable condition to be a judgment of God upon him for that.

† Dr. John King.

From Sir Thomas Grantham I hear, that, to induce my Lady Hatton to settle the better of her land upon Sir John Villiers, there is offer made to make her a countess, and by her procurement the Lord Denbigh a privy counsellor.

I shall conclude my letter with an accident that happened to the Venetian Ambassador at Madrid upon Shrove-Tuesday last, after their account. You know the liberty, or rather licentiousness, of that time in those parts. The Ambassador was newly arrived, and had not yet had audience, when one of his people, in imitation of what he saw others do, cast some filth upon a Spaniard; who, not brooking the jest, drew, and so did the other likewise; and their drawing occasioned divers others to do the same likewise, so as four or five were slain upon the place, Spaniards and Venetians.

The officers, observing a time when the Venetian Ambassador was abroad, brake open his house, seized upon all the servants of his they found, committed them to prison; and in these terms the courier left them.

And here it will be time to leave troubling you: most humbly therefore kissing your hand, I rest

Your, &c. &c.

THO. LORKIN.*

* Birch, 4176.

THE COUNTESS OF BUCKINGHAM* TO HER SON
THE MARQUIS.

[Exhorting him to study the book which the King had dedicated to him.]

MY DEAR AND LOVING SON,

THIS holy time of Lent gives me occasion of preparation against Easter, and of meditating

* The best comment upon this letter is the character of the lady herself, drawn by Bishop Hacket, who knew her well. Perhaps it is somewhat severe, as it was written upon occasion of her turning Papist. "She was mother to the great favorite; but in religion became a step-mother. She doted upon him extremely, as the glory of her womb; yet by turning her coat so wantonly, when the eyes of all the kingdom were upon her family, she could not have wrought him a worse turn, if she had studied a mischief against him. Many marvelled what rumbled in her conscience at that time; for, from a maid to an old madam, she had not every one's good word for practice of piety. And she suffered censure to the last, that she left the company of Sir Thomas Compton her husband. It hath been so with many others. But why should a libertine, that cares not to live after the way of the Gospel, pretend to seek satisfaction more than ordinary about the true doctrine of the Gospel? They that have beams in their own eyes, unsanctified manners beyond the most, why should they cavil at moats in the eye of the reformed religion? Arthur Wilson complains that the Countess of Buckingham was the cynosura that all the Papists steered by; I believe that it was above her ability to bear the weight of that metaphor. The common jealousy was, that the Duke would be ring-streaked with spots of Popery by resorting to his mother's trough."—Life of Archbishop Williams, i. p. 171.

upon his Majesty's last work, wherein you have the honor of dedication, the most gracious and most worthy favor that ever servant received from his master. Now, in reading of it, I find myself much touched in that you are no scholar, I having had the care left me by the unfortunate loss of your dear father. But when I consider the greatness of God's mercy towards widows and orphans, I am astonished; having so many examples both of prophets and other holy men that comfort weak women that mean well to their children, both in raising them to life when they were dead, and sending food, being ready to famish. I must apply these blessings to you, my beloved son, and your mother, that, having had a desire to breed you well, may find how God accepts desires for deeds done, and may see and behold with reverence the marvellous goodness of our great God, who hath sent us a prophet,—nay, more than a prophet,—a King, to repair the wants in me, and to raise you to life that were half-dead; for he that is ignorant in matters of salvation is more than half-dead. I pray God give as great a blessing to these our master's labors, as our Saviour had in choosing unlearned men to be his apostles; and, no doubt, if you study those lessons and meditations with all your heart, you shall be his disciple, who hath taken so much pains in repairing both our wants, that we may pray and serve him truly on earth, and have the

joy of seeing him in heaven: which everlasting happiness God make us worthy to enjoy!

Your most loving affectionate mother,

BUCKINGHAM.*

February 24, 1618.

RICHARD TRYM TO SIR ROB. CRANE.

[Miscellaneous News.]

SIR,

I DOUBT not but you have heard fully of the at[tainder] of the Lady of Exeter, and how the accusers are con[demned] for fines and damages at £22,000, besides charges of their suits. Sarah Swarton, her punishment is yet forborne, though she were brought to the court. She hath been divers times examined: at the first she was stiff; but at last, as it is said, she confessed the plot, charging the two ladies with it. It is said that she and Kath. Maynard have confessed other foul matter; so that it seems the business is not yet ended. Sir Thomas, his wife and daughter, are still close prisoners, severally, in the Tower. There is talk here that the Red-shanks of Argyle's country, who is at Brussels, are passed over into the north of Ireland;† and that Tyrone's son, Dongannon, who is a colonel over 1200 brave Irish, is ready in the Low Countries; so that

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiv. 243.

† See p. 178.

it may be doubted there is trouble intended also that way. In France there are stirrings; the old Duke of Epernon, with 800 horse, carried the Queen-mother from Bloys, whither she was confined, to Engoleme in Poictow. The Duke of Guise arms strongly; it is thought he is confederate with Epernon. There are few nobles at the court there. The marriage between the King's sister and the Duke of Savoy's son is concluded. My Lord of Doncaster, about the middest of March, goes ambassador for Bohemia about those businesses. With these news I end in haste; remembering my last service to you and my lady, as being obliged to be always,

Yours to do you service,

RICHARD TRYM.†

St. Bartholomew's, 26 Feb. 1618.

To the Right Worshipful Sir Rob. Crane, Kt. at Chilton.

GERARD HERBERT TO DR. WARD.

[Of the sickness of the Queen. — Burning of Whitehall. — Stukely's imprisonment.]

* * * I HAVE not, sir, any occurrents here to advertise you, other than that the King and Prince since Christmas have been at Newmarket, at Candlemas to return. The Queen, God be thanked! is upon a very good way of recovery, as her doctors well hope: her doctors are May-

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiv. 245.

arde,* Atkins, and Turner, which Sir Walter Raweley, ere his death, recommended to her as being the chief, knowing his secrets and medicaments of physics. She yet is at Hampton Court, but hoped she will be here at Shrove-tide.† I know you, being Master of Sidney College, do wish a happy increase to that name; therefore write you that much joy is at Baynard's Castle by my Lord Lyle's‡ having a son, a brave boy, the Sunday morning after Twelfth-day. Only yesterday grief is, in that it is perceived my Lady Lyle is sick with the small-pox; till then very happily brought abed and well, but God will undoubtedly recover her to health. That sickness is here very common amongst great ladies as inferior ones; my Lady Haddington dying thereof, who died wonderful religious and most well prepared for heaven.

I doubt not but you heard of the great mischance by fire at Whitehall ten days past, which burnt all the Banqueting-house, and was feared the whole house of Whitehall would also have been consumed; but that my Lord Chamberlain and his brother being present, whose industry, pains, and great providence, all the time, through the abund-

* Mayerne?

† She died, however, about this time of a dropsy, at Hampton Court. See also p. 195.

‡ Robert Sydney, afterwards Earl of Leicester. The son here mentioned was probably the celebrated Algernon Sydney.

ance of water brought and pulling down of some places, God be thanked ! prevented any more hurt. The fire arising by the neglect and heedlessness of two men that were appointed to sweep the room ; and, having candles, firing some of the oily clothes of the devices of the mask, (which the King had commanded should all remain to be again at Shrove-tide,) that fire inflaming suddenly about and to the roof, which the two men not able to quench [it], and fearing to be known that they did it, shut the doors, parting away without speaking thereof, till at last perceived by others, when too late and irrecoverable. The two, since confessing the truth, are put to prison. The King hath given order the mask at Shrove-tide shall be in the great hall. The maskers were the Prince, the Marquis Buckingham, the Earl Montgomerie, the Captain of the guards, and a brother of his, Sir Thomas Howarde, one Meynarde, Abercromye, Mootie (?), and some others, to twelve. Sir Lewes Steukeley this fourteen days hath been in the Gate-house for clipping gold, and it is thought generally shall die ; men say [it] to be a judgment of God for Sir Walter Rawley's blood.

I have not known any mean to thank you for the good welcome I received at Dort, than thus with tediousness to show my love, for which I desire to be excused. Amidst your weightier affairs, I pray you please to have my service re-

membered to Mr. Dr. Davenett and Mr. Belle-quanco,† and to tell him Sir William Anstruther took his remembrance very kindly, and is very glad of his health, being one whom Sir William much respects. Even so, with my best wishes,

* * * I always rest

Your most assured affectionate friend,

GERARDE HERBERT.‡

London, 21 Junii Vet. 1619.

To my much respected friend Mr. Dr. Ward &c. at Dort.

1620.

[Miscellaneous News.]

THE EARL OF RUTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF
BUCKINGHAM,

[On his running away with the Earl's daughter.§]

MY LORD,

I CONFESS I took no great council in this business, for nature taught me that I was to advise my daughter to avoid the occasion of ill, as confidently as I assure myself she is of ill; and, for your offers, I confess I had noble offers from you,

† Dr. Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Balcanqual, who was hunted down by the Puritans in the great rebellion. They were employed as English agents at the Synod of Dort. ‡ Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiv. 288.

§ The Marquis of Buckingham married Katharine Manners, the Earl of Rutland's only child, 16th May 1620.

and I expect real performance, which I hope in the end will bring comfort to us both. I deny not, had I seen any spark of affection in a daughter towards me, but that those words your lordship used might have moved me (and I cannot think but she had some counsel); but when I valued the one with the other, say that your lordship's affection might have altered, I was resolved this was the better course for my daughter's honor, which although she deserves not so great a care from a father whom she so little esteems, yet I must preserve her honor if it were with hazard of my life. And for calling our honors in question, pardon me, my lord, that cannot be any fault of mine; for you would have me think that a contract, which if you will make it so, be it as secret as you will, this matter is at an end; therefore the fault is only your lordship's if the world talk of us both. The issue I require, which your lordship desires to know, is, that I may by some course be assured she is yours, and then you shall find me tractable to deal like a loving father; although she is not worthy in respect of her neglect to me, yet it being once done, her love and due respects to your lordship shall make me forget that which I confess I now am too sensible of; and I hope your lordship will not guess nor imagine of me other than as of one that, if it be not your fault, you have as great an interest in as in any man, and she shall

not make her yours sooner than I will receive her again. To conclude, my lord, this is my resolution: if my conscience may not be fully satisfied she is yours, take your own courses; I must take mine, and I hope I shall arm myself with patience, and not with rage. Your lordship shall ever find I will be as careful of your honor as I must be tender of mine own; and this is my resolution. Wishing to your lordship as much happiness with my daughter as your heart can desire, so I rest

Your lordship's servant,

F. RUTLAND.*

THE MARQUIS TO THE EARL,

UPON THE SAME SUBJECT.

MY LORD,

YOUR mistaking in your fashion of dealing with a free and honest heart, together with your forward carriage towards your own daughter, enforced me the other day to post to Hampton Court, and there cast myself at his Majesty's feet, confessing freely unto him all that ever hath passed in privacy between your lordship and me concerning your daughter's marriage, lest otherwise, by this your public miscarriage of the business, it might by other means to my disadvantage come to his knowledge. And now that I have obtained my master's pardon for this my

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxv. 290.

first fault, by concealing and going further in any thing than his Majesty was acquainted with, I can delay no longer of declaring unto you how unkindly I take your harsh usage of me and your own daughter, which hath wrought this effect in me; that, since you esteem so little of my friendship and her honor, I must now, contrary to my former resolution, leave off the pursuit of that alliance any more, putting it in your free choice to bestow her elsewhere to your best comfort; for, whose fortune it shall ever be to have her, I will constantly profess that she never received any blemish in her honor but that which came by your own tongue. It is true, I never thought before to have seen the time that I should need to come within the compass of the law by stealing of a wife against the consent of the parents; considering of the favor that it pleaseth his Majesty, though undeservedly, to bestow upon me. So, leaving this to you and your wife's censure, I rest

Your lordship's servant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.*

* Harl. 1581, p. 134. Wilson, whose testimony is suspicious in everything which concerns Buckingham, both from his narrow puritanical bigotry and zealous partisanship of the Earl of Essex, gives the following account of this affair.

“The Earl of Rutland, of a noble family, had but one daughter to be the mistress of his great fortune; and he [Buckingham] tempts her, carries her to his lodgings in Whitehall, keeps her there for some time, and then returns her back again to her

ROB. WOODWARD TO SECRETARY WINDEBANKE.

[Miscellaneous news.]

MR. ATTORNEY,* whose office is to bring others into the Star Chamber, is now to be brought himself, to the wonder and astonishment of the world.

My Lord of Suffolk is in very hard case, and would have been in far worse, if, as your great tenant here told me the other day, things which of late have been discovered had been known before, which he sayeth are many degrees fouler and greater than those which were censured. He could have then been but undone, and so he is now; but perhaps he hath escaped cheaper in reputation. There is one Mr. Aldred (sometimes secretary to the Lord Evers) committed for writing to my Lord Buckingham a dehortative letter against the match with Spain, which they say is more sufficiently than discreetly

father. The stout old Earl sent him this threatening message; *that he was too much of a gentleman to suffer such an indignity, and if he did not marry his daughter to repair her honor, no greatness should protect him from his justice.* Buckingham, that perhaps made it his design to get the father's good will this way, (being the greatest match in the kingdom,) had no reason to dislike the union; therefore he quickly salved the wound, before it grew to a quarrel; and if this marriage stopped the current of his sins, he had the less to answer for."—James I. p. 149.

More than one error has accidentally, or intentionally, crept into this writer's history, who, notwithstanding his Puritanism, had a sweet tooth for Court gossip and scandal.

* Sir Henry Yelverton.

penned. And yet I cannot see with what judgment it can be written, when he shewed to have none in the writing. I am now both weary and sleepy; but it is because my matter is all spent, and not my affection, sir, to do you further service, which still increaseth with doing.

Your true lover and servant,

ROBERT WOODWARD.*

Pray, sir, commend me affectionately to good Mistress Windebanke.

Gardner's Lane, the 13th June 1620.

To my very worthy and most respect friend,

Mr. Francis Windebanke, at Haine's Hill.

DOCTOR, AFTERWARDS BISHOP, HALL TO DR. WARD,
AT DORT.

[News of the day.]

GOOD MR. DR. WARD,

How much am I beholden to you, that amongst all that throng of business you could find time to send me so full and so welcome a letter. I am glad yet to hear that you look towards an end of those affairs which are now tedious, but had like to have been infinite. We heard news of differences betwixt you; belike the end is peace. I shall long for your return, that I may be sated with a full relation. I was gone a day's journey towards Worcester, when my weak body

* Tan. lxiii. 290. Orig. Hol.

turned me back, as not yet abiding any motion. The last week was not without much fear and grief here for his Majesty's dangerous unhealth : our God be praised the worst is passed over, and his recovery proceeds with happy expedition ; yet is he still at Royston, and will be for more days than I think he would.

The rumors of the Spanish fleet* had so possessed our people, that the beacons on Sussex side were (as I hear) on a fire, upon a view of some number of Hollanders. Dover was wiser, and stayed the false alarum.

My Lord of Warwick is dead.† My Lord of Doncaster will shortly see you in his way to Germany, whither he goes ambassador. Dr. Dun‡ goes his chaplain.

The Queen's solemn funeral is appointed April 29th ; all our court is turned black.

Mr. Jeffry is so well approved here, that here he settles with my lord.

That which you write of £12 received after my departure needs your further comment. That there should be a proportionable deduction for those public rooms is good reason ; whereof yet I had (you know) too little use.

Remember my service to my Lord B. and to Sir John Berck, with my true love to all the

* See p. 177.

† Robert Rich, the second Earl.

‡ The celebrated Dr. Donne. His biographer, Isaac Walton, has alluded to this journey.

rest of your worthy colleagues, to whom I wish a speedy, and safe, and successful return.

With all this curious tenebre and length of time, I can hardly yet recollect myself, so deep-rooted was my Hollandish distemper. Let me charge you also to remember me in all kind respects to our worthy president, to the assessors and scribes, to Mr. Dr. Mart Gregor, to Mr. Simon Schott of Middleburgh, to Mr. Dan. Heinsius.

My prayers shall be for a comfortable and happy dismissal of your so reverend and famous an assembly. Farewell. From

Your loving brother and colleague,

Waltham, March 30, sty. vet.

JOSEPH HALL.*

To my Right Worshipful and dear friend, Mr. Dr. Ward,
one of the English Divines at Dort.

LADY LAKE TO THE COUNTESS OF EXETER.†

MADAM,

Now after all this business in which you have had too much glory, cast your eyes upon the

* Tan. lxxiv. p. 154. Orig. Hol.

† This letter was written on occasion of the trial mentioned in the Memoirs, p. 192. See also the previous letters, p. 179, &c. One can hardly resist the impression of Lady Lake's being innocent; and that the fall of Sir Thomas and his family was, as Goodman states, owing to political more than to any other reasons.

134th psalm ; there you shall find what God is—no place nor thought hid from him ; he can look where men's judgments cannot look to, and his records must remain upon the file for ever. His lawyers will not receive bribes, nor be corrupted ; these exhibits cannot be stolen in boxes. To conclude for this time, I wish my submission could make you an innocent woman, and wish you as white as a swan ; but it must be your own submission unto God, and many prayers, and tears, and afflictions, which seeing you have not outwardly, examine your heart, and think on times past, and remember what I have written you heretofore. The same I do now again, for I yet nothing doubt, but that although the Lord Roos was sent away and is dead, yet truth lives, and God's glory will appear in his good time. And if you flatter yourself other, it will fail you ; and this business will never have end till you and I meet in the presence of the King's majesty, which hath been often my humble suit, although I cannot yet obtain it ; yet I hope, ere you and I part this world, I shall. If not, I will have that testimony as shall make all the world to see that I die God's servant. To whose justice I commend myself.

9th November 1620.

MARY LAKE.*

To the Countess of Exeter.

* Harl. 4762. p. 36. Orig. Hol.

MR. MEAD TO SIR MARTIN STUTEVILLE.

[Conspiracy against the King's life.]

Christ's College, Cambridge,

SIR,

Feb. 17, 1620-1.

I WROTE in my last that the States' Embassadors required public audience according as their commission was. I hear since, that it was to the body of the kingdom assembled in parliament, where they have delivered their message, &c.

They say also, that the King sent for the lower house to Whitehall and made another speech unto them.

The act of parliament against the Papists, the execution whereof was referred, as you heard, to the committees to advise of, was, as I hear, made 13th Eliz.: that no Papist, during parliament time, should come within ten miles of the city. I am told, moreover, that it was agreed that the subsidies and grievances should pass together. And that there should already pass two subsidies and a fifteenth, upon two conditions, which his Majesty hearing of, should say, he was sure one of the conditions would be against the Papists; but let them do with them as they would.

One Worseley, a mad fellow, a Catholic, who some six years since would have stabbed my Lord of Canterbury in his gallery, and had done it,

had not his secretary come in by chance, and was some years in prison for it, and afterwards banished, but now of late come home again,—this fellow, on Candlemas Day at night, sent a letter from the Blue Boar within Aldgate to Sir John Lentrope's lodgings in Holborn; the pretence, because in his examination being asked what friends he had, he had named Sir John Lentrope, which Sir John took very ill, it being nothing so, but only he was somewhat of kindred to Ga. Lentrope, his cousin's wife. Within this letter were enclosed two others, in one whereof was a most bitter invective against the Archbishop; in the other, a horrible treason against the King, not fit to be related. Sir John went presently to the Earl of Southampton and shewed it him; and his eldest son coming home upon Tuesday, by chance, understood that this Worsley was then in his cousin Lentrope's, the Catholic's house, and went presently with his brother, who told me this, and apprehended him.

Dr. Usher,* whom you hear should preach before the lower house, is an Irishman, whom the King hath but [just] made Bishop,† a wonderful antiquary, a great scholar, and a man esteemed of great integrity and devotion. I am told that he was appointed by the parliament to preach, and, some say, his text given him, or theme inti-

* The celebrated Archbishop Usher.

† Of Meath in Ireland.

mated, by them. Howsoever, he preached not then, but both his preaching and the communion were, by order from the King, put off till the Sunday after, (to-morrow,) and the place to be Westminster. In the mean time it was on foot for the Dean of Westminster, Dr. Williams,* to preach, and not Usher; but with much ado, they say, Usher still continues, and is expected to-morrow, though the Dean was so discontent, that he denied, as some say, to permit the communion in Westminster; but I suppose he will be otherwise advised. Methinks, if Usher preaches, when I consider all circumstances, it should produce some novelty.

I am told that there was, not long since, (I suppose about New Year's tide,) a play before his Majesty, wherein there was a Puritan brought up, having long ass's ears, who should speak after this manner: "Is it now a time to give gifts and to make merry? &c. This should be a time of fasting and prayer, when the Church of God is in so great affliction in Bohemia and Germany, and other places, and not of masking and music," &c. I will not believe this was entertained with applause, and yet I am told so.

It is strange to hear how contrarily men of the same affections and desires are carried since the beginning of the parliament. Some full of hope and some as big with fear, even concerning

* Afterwards Archbishop of York.

the same matters. But God will dispose of all things as it seems good to him.

I was told yesterday, that the Bishop of Durham had been quoted in some men's speeches in the Lower House, by the name of *that irreverent Bishop*.*

I suppose you have heard that Sir Thomas Beaumont, one of the Knights for Leicestershire, is put out of the House, and some others also. I know not whether for some default in this election, or some other cause. But there is great question about Sir Henry Cary, chosen for Hertfordshire, whom the King hath since made a Viscount in Scotland; viz. Viscount Falkland. Whereupon is controverted, whether he should be of the Upper House or Lower House, or nei-

* Dr. Neile. An excellent man, though much hated by the Lower House and the Puritan party, which chiefly composed it, because of his adherence to what they called Arminian tenets. A very pleasing anecdote is mentioned of him when Archbishop of York, in a MS. in the Harleian collection, No. 1581, f. 181. It occurs in a letter of J. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, dated Sept. 20, 1632. "One writ to me from Cambridge two things in commendation of the present Bishop of York. First, that being by his coachman hurried apace through a town where were many poor people, as if he had meant to save his master's purse harmless, he called him knave for his labor, and made him stand still till such time as he had, with his own hand, distributed to them all. Secondly, that being advertised by some of his officers how he might levy a tenth upon his clergy, as well as his late predecessor had done, he answered, he would in no case attempt any such matter, for he was come to benefit, and not to charge his clergy."

ther. Some say, they shall choose again in Hertfordshire; and others, that the House will bind him to continue amongst the Commons, as he was elected, which it seems he is unwilling unto.

* * * * *

Yours to command,

JOSEPH MEAD.

L. CRANFEILD† TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[State of the Revenue.]

RIGHT NOBLE AND MY MOST HONORED LORD,

ACCORDING to his Majesty's command, I have spoken with the Lord Dockwraye. I will not trouble your lordship with our discourse; but we have concluded that for the present he shall have only £2000 (to make up the eight which he hath already received) ten, and that shall serve the

† Cranfeild's correspondence is by no means scanty, but yet is of too official a nature to please the general reader. I could not, however, wholly omit the letters of one who makes so great a figure in the memoirs of Bishop Goodman, and who was certainly one of the best ministers about the Court. It was his fate to offend both the Court and the Puritans,—to please, in fact, neither parties; and if he was called the Indians' black Deity by King James in derision, he was called by the Puritans the Devil's treasurer in sober earnest.

Wilson gives an account of a sermon preached before the King, not long before the date of this letter, in which the

present turn with content. After our conclusion we both attended the Lord Treasurer, whom we acquainted with what we had resolved; whereupon his lordship promised present payment of that sum, so that business is for this instant settled. But I pray your lordship to give me leave to remember you, that this is but a reprieve,—no full discharge; for at Michaelmas next there will be two whole years unpaid, which is 40,000 pounds. So that my humble advice is, your lordship will be pleased to move the King to resolve what his Highness will do about that kingdom. Upon my life, it will be no hard matter to discharge that arrear, to ease his Majesty of the £20,000 annual charge wherewith his estate is now charged, and to settle that kingdom in much more security than it is at present. For the doing of which I will be prepared to make an overture to your lord-

preacher took for his text these words:—"And the devil taking Jesus to the top of a mountain, showed him all the kingdoms of the world," &c. From this he took occasion to show that the devil was a great monarch, with many officers under him. When he came to describe the devil's treasurer, his exactions and gripings, he fixed his eyes full upon Cranfeild, and, pointing at him with his hand, said with an emphasis, *That man—that man that makes himself rich and his master poor, he is a fit treasurer for the devil.* Poor Cranfeild sat with his hat pulled down over his eyes, afraid to look up lest he should find all men's eyes fixed upon him; whilst the King, who sat just over him, enjoyed his confusion, "smiling at the quaint satire so handsomely colored over."—Wilson, p. 152.

ship to offer to his Majesty against his return from the progress.

Yesterday the council met, and I took the opportunity to set that on foot which the King and the Prince, in the presence of your lordship, resolved, which was the sending of some principal and select commissioners into Ireland. I moved it upon this occasion. Sir Francis Blundell was then to have received directions for the release of covenants broken by some undertakers about the planting of one-fourth part Irish, whereas they should have planted English, upon an offer of doubling the rent. I must confess I liked not the motion, it being, as I conceive, a step to overthrow the King's glorious work of settling that kingdom. For the motive to induce his Majesty to show that grace, it was the doubling the rent, which was contemptible not only in regard of the sum, for his Majesty in all his plantations there hath been pleased never to regard profit, but the safety and welfare of his people; the rent reserved not deserving that name, it being so small, that it is rather an acknowledgment than a rent.

I should make my letter too long if I should write your lordship what passed at the board upon this subject; I shall humbly acquaint your lordship therewith when I have the happiness to see you next. In the meantime, your lordship may be pleased to understand the Lords

thought fit to forbear to do any thing about Sir F. Blundell's motion, and to move his Majesty, when they next attend his Highness, to send over into Ireland commissioners of understanding and value, the best could be chosen in this kingdom, which is a good preparation to that the King intends, and will be much better the Lords should propose it to the King, than if his Majesty had moved it to them. What the commissioners shall do will be fit to be resolved on at his Majesty's return. In the meantime I will prepare for your lordship what I conceive fit for the furthering of that service.

The King's rent of £15,500 per annum for tobacco is in danger to be lost, or at best to decline much; and all the money spent about the plantations of Virginia and Burmothas will be lost if there be not some present course taken to restrain the planting of tobacco here in England. I have met divers time with the Lord Treasurer about it, who desires it may rather be the act of the whole board than his; and therefore your lordship may be pleased to move the King to give present order the council may meet, and resolve what is fit to be done, it being now no time to lose or impair so great a revenue.

Four of his Majesty's ships are daily expected. At their arrival, if there be not money prepared ready to discharge the men, it will stand his Majesty in above £200 every day charge, beside the

dishonor and further inconvenience that may follow. Your lordship, being Lord Admiral, will suffer much in it. Wherefore you may be pleased to give present order by command from his Majesty, who is first to be moved, my Lord Treasurer to provide that money be ready for the discharge of the men presently upon their arrival. The sum will be about thirteen thousand pounds.

I have herewith sent your lordship my grant for the manor of Cranfeild, to get his Majesty's signature, which I humbly pray your lordship to despatch for me. I hope his Majesty, by your noble mediation, bestows it upon me to more willingness than I beg it, which I protest before God is not for the value, but the name, and that it may remain to my house as a mark of his Majesty's favor and goodness towards me.

Your good sister the Lady Fielding, whom the good air of Chelsea has much comforted, remembers her love and service to your lordship; the like doth my wife and her mother, who praye for you and the long continuance of your prosperity, as they have good cause. As for myself, my debt is so great to your lordship, that whatsoever I have shall be ever at your command. And I will always rest

Your lordship's

Faithfullest servant and kinsman,

LIONELL CRANFEILDE.

For Sir Richard Buckler's (?) son and grand-child there is nothing as yet done, nor shall be until I first acquaint your lordship and receive your command.*

Chelsey, the 28th of July 1621.

L. CRANFEILD TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[State of the Revenue.]

RIGHT NOBLE AND MY MOST HONORED LORD,

THIS bearer, Sir William Russell, hath lately done his Majesty good service by lending money towards the discharge of the ships that come from Argier, whereof I pray your lordship to take notice and to thank him.

The more I look into the King's estate the greater cause I have to be troubled, considering the work I have to do, which is not to reform one particular, as in the household, navy, wardrobe, &c.; but every particular, as well of his Majesty's receipts as payments, hath been carried with so much disadvantage to the King, as until your lordship see it you will not believe any men should be so careless and unfaithful.

I have heard his Majesty is now granting a pension. I pray your lordship to consider how impossible it is for me to do service if any such

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. p. 56.

thing be done, and withal whether it were not unjust to stop pensions already granted, and at the same instant to grant new, and what a life I should have with those whose pensions are stayed, for whom I have now a good answer; viz. the King must and shall be first served. I pray your lordship not only to stay the granting any new, but to move his Majesty not to suffer any old to be exchanged or altered from one life to another; and then, I dare assure your lordship, within these few months they will not be worth two years' purchase.

I shall not desire to live if I do not the work; and therefore, good my lord, be constant yourself, and be the happy means to hold the King so. It is my gratitude to his Majesty and your lordship that hath engaged me; otherwise there is nothing upon this earth could have tempted me to have quit the happy estate I was in within these fourteen days, to enter into a business so full of continual vexation and trouble.

I have called some men to account who have not accounted these seven years. I doubt some will make their addresses to his Majesty or your lordship; I pray let their answer be, his Majesty hath referred the trust of ordering his estate to me.

I shall shortly call for an account out of the Isle of Wight. I think out of moneys owing by some rich lords to pay some of his Majesty's poor

servants. I will spare no person, nor forbear any course that is just and honorable to make our great and gracious master to subsist of his own. The pains and envy shall be mine, the honor and thanks your lordship's. Wherefore be constant to him that loves and honors you, and will ever rest

Your lordship's

Faithful servant and kinsman,

LIONELL CRANFEILD.*

Chelsey, 12 Oct. 1621.

To my much honored Lord the Lord Marquis of
Buckingham, Lord High Admiral of England.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE DUKE.

[Upon the House of Commons proving refractory.]

STINIE,

THE lower house this day has been a little unruly, but I hope it will turn to the best, for before they rose they began to be ashamed of it; yet I could wish that the King would send down a commission here, (that if need were,) such seditious fellows might be made an example to others by Monday next, and till then I would let them alone; it will be seen whether they mean to do good or to persist in their follies, so that the King needs to be patient but a little while. I have

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. p. 66.

spoken with so many of the council as the King trusts most, and they [are] all of this mind; only the sending of authority to set seditious fellows fast is of my adding. I defy thee in being more mine than I am

Thy constant loving friend,

CHARLES P.*

Friday, 3d November 1621.

L. CRANFEILD TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Upon the same subject and the state of the Revenue.]

MOST NOBLE LORD,

MR. CHANCELLOR being sent down to the King by the House of Commons, hath saved me the pains of writing the proceedings in Parliament in that house, with my opinion; he being best able to inform you of all the passages there, and how that which hath lately been handled in that house, viz. concerning the Prince's marriage, and war and peace, was occasioned, and thereupon the petition (which is his errand) framed. I have likewise delivered him my opinion, unto whose report I refer myself, submitting all to your better judgment.

For the proceedings in the upper house, they are very respective and fair. Some few attempts have

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 68.

been made about privilege and papers taken from Selden, thereby, as I conceive, to have called in question the Earl of Southampton's restraint. But those affected to those courses are so few, and the house in general so well affected to the King and his service, as I make no doubt but his Majesty will receive no discontentment in our house, but all satisfaction; which God grant!

That which I am principally to take care of, is to get money, to see nothing passeth to the prejudice of his Majesty's revenue and estate, nor to impeach his power royal, wherein I will not fail in my duty, whatsoever I shall in power.

I have agreed with the farmers of tobacco for this year for £8000, and have told them to bring in but threescore thousand weight; and have left the Virginia and Bowrmoothes free to bring in without restraint, and his Majesty to have the benefit of the impost. This is £2000 more than could be gotten by the Lords at Hampton Court. Besides, by restraining them to 60,000 weight, the kingdom will be empty of Spanish tobacco at Michaelmas next, by which means I hope to double the revenue I have let it for this year. Besides, the great clamor in parliament of £120,000 per annum spent in Spanish tobacco, is now satisfied, because this 60,000 weight will cost but seven thousand pounds; and the Virginia and Bowrmoothes Company have no cause to complain, there being no restraint, but they left to free trade.

I made this known to both the houses the first day of the parliament; and withal added, that his Majesty, for the general good of the kingdom, to preserve the treasure, and for the enlargement of the trade of Virginia, &c. had, even in this time of his extreme necessity, been pleased to lose seven thousand five hundred pounds per annum in that farm of tobacco.

I have likewise made a bargain for the great farm and silk farm, if his Majesty shall be pleased to approve it. The term I have agreed for is seven years, with a proviso, if his Majesty shall think fit at the end of three years to give them notice of his pleasure and a year's warning, they are to quit it; and they have the like freedom. This I did take care of, because all trades at present being sick, occasioned by the general wars in Christendom, I conceive it cannot be worse, but hope of much better; which if it shall please God to send, then his Majesty hath the advantage, after three or four years, to increase his revenue upon this farm. The price I have agreed for is one hundred and threescore thousand pounds per annum, which is an improvement of four thousand pounds per annum more than ever was given, and more than the Lords could get at Hampton Court; which is better than letting it for ten thousand pounds less, as the King was made believe he must have done. I have driven the bargain so hard for the King,

but I assure myself I have lost the two thousand pounds which my predecessors, the Lord Treasurers, had yearly given them at new year's tide. If I had, instead of improving it £4000 per annum, abated £10,000 per annum, (as was intended,) it would have been a good new year's gift to the Treasurer, but your lordship may perceive with what great loss and disadvantage to the King.

The farmers pretend his Majesty was contented to give them a covenant, (in case there should be a great plague, they should then be but accountants;) but I would not yield to it, because it was new; besides, it being a matter of grace, I have left it to the King's pleasure, (as all things of that nature should be,) that, if his Highness be pleased to do it, he may have the thanks.

The Hollanders are arrived after their long delay. It will advance that service much to choose good commissioners, and the advancing that service will put life into trade. The merchants have been with me, desiring me to further their desire, which is, to have the same commissioners [as] were last. I pray your lordship I may know the King's pleasure, and see the names of those his Majesty intends to make before he signify his pleasure. It shall not be prejudicial, but advance his Majesty's service, for it will be good for the King that his Treasurer have power and credit in the city.

I have paid the Duke of Howlsten* his three thousand pounds in full, according to the King's command, which I am not to dispute, but obey; yet I could have wished it forborne in this time of extreme necessity, and it might have been done with his Majesty's honor, considering his foreign occasions not unknown to the Duke of Holsten himself.

I have paid the posts three thousand pounds in part; to the forts and castles, six thousand pounds in part; to his Majesty's foreign ambassadors and agents, six thousand pounds in part, not reckoning my Lord Digby (for him I must take care beside); to the Warden, &c. of the Tower, and his Majesty's guard, to clear them, about three thousand pounds; to gun-founders, to poor shipwrights, to gunners, to armorers, for munition, and to other mechanics, about five thousand pounds; to all his Majesty's servants, their ordinary wages and pensions; and all this with his Majesty's own, without borrowing, anticipating, or paying interest; which may seem strange, considering the state his Majesty was in at Hampton Court, and that damnable overture made to pawn his jewels for his remove.

When I have the honor to see your lordship, I will then let you know how I have done all this, which I pray believe hath been by honorable and just ways; and so much I beseech your

* Holstein.

lordship on my behalf to assure the King. And withal, if God bless me, and his Majesty, the Prince, and your lordship continue constant, and will back me, I will perfect the work, and the King shall live with honor upon his own, in despite of all the world. As for myself, although I have been all my life an active man, yet I never knew care and pains indeed till now. I protest to your lordship, myself and Sir Robert Pye was upon Sunday until one of the clock at midnight conjuring about the King's estate; I having no time in the day by reason of my continual attendance in parliament, and to answer pressing, unreasonable, and importunate suitors. And yet, to recreate myself, I have lately seen two plays at Whitehall.

I have taken order for the payment of the thirty thousand pounds, in Amsterdam, to Sir Dudley Carleton, for the use of the Prince Palatine; and in such specie, that whereas heretofore the army had for ten thousand pounds sterling but one hundred thousand florins, they shall now have for ten thousand pounds sterling two hundred thousand florins, which is double as much.

I have the rather written now to your lordship thus largely and particularly of his Majesty's affairs, to give him some content, for I fear the petition from the House of Commons will give him little.

Now I have given your lordship an account

about his Majesty's affairs, and what my care hath been about them, I pray your lordship to believe I have not been idle to perfect that which concerns my Lord Fielding* and his lady; and although I have not gone so swift as their desires, it hath not been out of a desire to delay that which I know you have so great a desire to have despatched, nor for want of affection to them, but so to order and settle it as may stand with your lordship's and my duty to the King, and with our honors and our safeties, if hereafter it should be called in question, and yet with that benefit and security to my Lord Fielding as if it had been done at Michaelmas. The warrant I have sent you herewith for his Majesty to sign, which I pray be a mean his Majesty may read all over in presence of Mr. Parker and my Lord of Holderness; and now, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer is there, signify to him that he hath read it, and is pleased it should be so. For I being now trusted with his Majesty's estate in this great place, and this in one part concerning myself, and in another part my Lord Fielding, who is so near your lordship and me by marriage, and I having offended so many for the King's service, it behoves me not only not to give a ground, but not so much as a color of a ground, for those I have made my enemies to work upon, that may any

* William Fielding, Lord Fielding, afterwards Earl of Denbigh.

way charge me in point of faithfulness or duty to his Majesty; for I am resolved to pursue the course I have begun, which is not to make a fortune myself, but humbly leave it to the King to make me one, which is a new way of thriving at court. The reasons [wherefore] I have made the six thousand pounds to be paid me by my Lord Fielding, for money paid formerly by his Majesty's directions, are these:—

First, because in this time of want the King shall not suffer by an opinion of giving, and it is true upon the ground, for I paid six thousand pounds to Sir Henry Mildmay by the King's knowledge and order, as your lordship knows. Secondly, because my Lord Fielding's grant shall commence at Michaelmas last, and his account carried from that time. Lastly, his Majesty shall be at no further charge for this year than if I had kept the wardrobe; and yet my Lord Fielding will have full as much as the King or your lordship intends him. By this the King and your lordship may see how things were carried in this office in former times, what service I have done to reduce it, what I have parted with, and how faithfully I have dealt with the King from time to time to acquaint him with my gains, which I might have concealed and kept. But I am better satisfied with this course.

For the three thousand pounds mentioned as paid to my Lord of Doncaster, I paid so much to my lord in part of a privy seal, and he received all

his money with interest out of the exchequer; and in all the grants formerly made me about the saving in the wardrobe, this three thousand pounds is mentioned as part. And in regard there is in this warrant six thousand pounds mentioned to be given me for money disbursed by his Majesty's order, lest it might be conceived that three thousand pounds was part, I thought it fit to explain it to avoid question, it being no charge to his Majesty, nor loss to my Lord of Doncaster, he being to repay me that which he received twice, and which his Majesty had given me. For your own private I forgot not, but am in forwardness. And so I rest

Your lordship's

Faithfullest servant and kinsman,

LIONELL CRANFEILDE.*

Chelsey, 4th December 1621.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LAKE, BISHOP OF
BATH AND WELLS, TO DR. WARD.

[Account of Archbishop Spalato's return to Rome.]

GOOD MR. ARCHDEACON,

I GLADLY hear of yours and for yours at any time, as one whom I remember in my prayers as a worthy ornament of this church and instrument

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. p. 73.

of God's glory. I have received information of the Archbishop of Spalato's success, answerable to the success which wise men, that know the dealing of the Court of Rome, looked for. But he, though otherwise not ignorant of them, would not suspect, so confident was he of the Pope's good will to him, upon letters received, and Gundamar's artificial persuasions. They have provided that we shall have no advantage of his writing, because they have got him to be his own corrector; but what plunges of melancholy the private consideration of his retraction, I am persuaded against his conscience, may put him to, time will show. Either his conscience is seared, or he will be uncomfortably sensible of so foul a fact; and his writings being not bare assertions, but strengthened with good proofs, will not easily be avoided — no, though he should retract sentence after sentence, except he can also answer his own reasons in many material points, though there be in his books many things I did never like; and his late writings deal more tenderly with the Church of Rome, that he might have place for reconciliation, which he did premeditate. * * *

Wells,

This 9th June [1622.]†

† See the Memoirs, p. 352.

LORD BACON TO KING JAMES.

[Upon his release from imprisonment.—His Instauration Magna and other writings.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

I ACKNOWLEDGE myself in all humbleness infinitely bounden to your Majesty's grace and goodness, for that, at the intercession of my noble and constant friend my Lord Marquis, your Majesty hath been pleased to grant me that which the civilians say is *res inestimabilis*,—my liberty; so that now, whenever God calleth me, I shall not die a prisoner. Nay, further, your Majesty hath vouchsafed to cast a second and iterate aspect of your eye of compassion upon me, in referring the consideration of my broken estate to my good lord the Lord Treasurer; which as it is a singular bounty in your Majesty, so I have yet so much left of a late commissioner of your treasure, as I would be sorry to sue for any thing that might seem immodest.

These your Majesty's great benefits in casting your bread upon the waters, (as the Scripture saith,) because my thanks cannot any ways be sufficient to attain, I have raised your progenitor of famous memory, (and now I hope of more famous memory than before,) King Henry the Seventh, to give your Majesty thanks for me. Which work, most humbly kissing your Majesty's hands, I do present. And because in the beginning of my trouble, when in the midst of the tempest

I had a kenning of the harbour, which I hope now by your Majesty's favor I am entering into, I made tender to your Majesty of two works, an History of England, and a Digest of your Laws, as I have (by a figure of *pars pro toto*) performed the one, so I have herewith sent your Majesty, by way of an epistle, a new offer of the other. But my desire is further, if it stand with your Majesty's good pleasure, since now my study is my exchange, and my pen my factor for the use of my talent, that your Majesty (who is a great master in these things) would be pleased to appoint me some task to write, and that I shall take for an oracle.

And because my Instauration (which I esteem my great work, and do still go on with in silence,) was dedicated to your Majesty, and this History of King Henry the Seventh to your lively and excellent image the Prince, if now your Majesty will be pleased to give me a theme to dedicate to my Lord of Buckingham, whom I have so much reason to honor, I should with more alacrity embrace your Majesty's direction than mine own choice. Your Majesty will pardon me for troubling you thus long. God evermore preserve and prosper you.

Your Majesty's poor beadsman most devoted,

Gorhamb. 20th March 1621.

F. ST. ALBAN.*

(Inscribed) To the King's most excellent Majesty.

* This and the two following letters are from the Tan. MSS. lxxiv. p. 906 *et seq.*

LORD BACON TO BUCKINGHAM.

[On the same occasion.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THESE many and real favors which I have lately received from your good lordship in procuring my liberty, and a reference of the considerations of my release, are such as I now find, that, in building upon your lordship's noble nature and friendship, I have built upon the rock where neither winds or rains can cause overthrow. I humbly pray your lordship to accept from me such thanks as ought to come from him whom you have much comforted in fortune, and much more comforted in shewing your love and affection to him. Of which also I have heard by my Lord of Faulkland, Sir Edward Sackville, Mr. Matthew, and otherwise.

I have written, as my duty was, to his Majesty, thanks touching the same, by the letter I here put into your noble hands.

I have made also in that letter an offer to his Majesty of my service for bringing into better order and frame the laws of England. The declarations whereof I have left with Sir Edward Sackville, because it were no good manners to cloy his Majesty, at this time of triumph and recreation, with a business of this nature. So as your lordship may be pleased to call for it to Sir

Edward Sackville, when you think the time seasonable.

I am bold likewise to present your lordship with a book of my History of King Henry the Seventh. And now that in summer was twelve-month I dedicated a book to his Majesty, and this last summer this book to the Prince, your lordship's turn is next, and this summer that comes, (if I live to it,) I shall be yours. I have desired his Majesty to appoint me the task, otherwise I shall use mine own choice for this, as the best retribution I can make to your lordship. God prosper you the next.

Your lordship's

Most obliged friend and faithful servant,

F. ST. ALBAN.

Gorhamb. this 20th of March 1621.

(Inscribed) To the Right Honorable his very good
Lordship, the Lord Marquis of Buckingham, High
Admiral of England.

LORD BACON TO BUCKINGHAM.

[Expresses his anxiety to be taken into favor and to return to
public life.]

EXCELLENT LORD,

THOUGH I have troubled your lordship with many letters, oftener than I think I should, (save that affection keepeth no account,) yet upon the repair of Mr. Matthew, a gentleman so much your lordship's servant, and to me another myself, as your lordship best knoweth, you would

not have thought me a man alive, except I had put a letter into his hand, and withal, by so faithful and approved a mean, commended my fortunes afresh unto your lordship.

My lord, to speak my heart to your lordship, I never felt my misfortunes so much as now; not for that part which may concern myself, who profit, I thank God for it, both in patience and in settling mine own courses; but when I look abroad and see the times so stirring, and so much dissimulation, falsehood, baseness, and envy in the world, and so many idle clocks going in men's heads, then it grieveth me much that I am not sometimes at your lordship's elbow, that I might give you some of the fruits of the careful advice, modest liberty, and true information of a friend that loveth your lordship as I do. For though your lordship's fortunes be above the thunders and storms of inferior regions, yet, nevertheless, to hear the wind, and not to feel it, will make one sleep the better.

My good lord, somewhat I have, and much have I read, so that few things which concern states or greatness leave new cases unto me; and therefore I hope I may be no unprofitable servant to your lordship. I remember the King was wont to make a character of me, far above my worth, that I was not made for small matters; and your lordship would sometimes bring me from his Majesty that Latin sentence,

De minimis non curat lex; and it hath so fallen out, that since my retiring times have been fuller of great matters than before; wherein, perhaps, if I had continued near his Majesty, he might have found more use of my services if my gift lay that way. But that is but a faint imagination of mine. True it is, that as I do not aspire to use my talent in the King's great affairs, yet for that which may concern your lordship and your fortune, no man living shall give you a better [proof] of faith, industry, affection, than I shall. I must conclude with that which gave me occasion of this letter, which was Mr. Matthew's employment to your lordship in these parts; whereas I am verily persuaded your lordship shall find him a wise and able gentleman, and one that will lend his knowledge of the world (which is great) to serve his Majesty and the Prince, and in especial your lordship. So I rest

Your lordship's

Most obliged and faithful servant,

Gray's Inn,

F. ST. ALBAN.

This 18th of April 1623.

SECRETARY NAUNTON TO THE MARQUIS OF
BUCKINGHAM.

[Upon his disgrace.]

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVE here presumed to implore your lordship's noble favor for the timely presenting of this inclos-

ed to his Majesty,* and your own seconding of their contents, which no man can do so well, and I yet believe no man will so willingly as your lordship, notwithstanding all the artifices that have been devised and practised to avert your lordship's favor from me, as well as his sacred Majesty's, which design of theirs I can justly challenge it to have proceeded of bitter malice to me, and of not much more love to your own person.

I am now fallen into the times of trial to try my true friends, (whereof this world hath so few,) and mine own heart, whether it can trust where it hath been and is true, whether it can [be] patient and brook checks from those royal hands which heretofore it hath kissed with unspeakable comforts. My sweet lord, I most humbly thank you for your care of me, intimated by Mr. Packer touching the parliament house; in which, though I have not yet refused to serve, because I should so have made myself uncapable to answer the obligation I have to do his Majesty service there when he shall be pleased to accept thereof, yet do I not hold myself bound to admit of their choice that elected me, being now none of that body, till I shall receive assurance of his Majesty's gracious approbation. I have entreated some of my friends to oppose that motion, if any such should be made, for my calling thither, and am resolved they shall send me to what prison they will, yea,

* See the following letter.

and pull me in pieces too, before I will be fetched out of my house with my own consent, till my sovereign dear master shall enlarge me, who hath confined me thither; for whose blessed estate, honor, and prosperity God best knows [that] I am infinitely more careful than for any thing that can befall my resolved self in this life.

Your lordship's most devoted

And obliged humble servant to death,

[1622.]

ROBERT NAUNTON.*

SECRETARY NAUNTON TO KING JAMES.

[Upon his disgrace.]

MY MOST DREAD AND MOST DEAR SOVEREIGN LORD AND MASTER,

As, upon the first signification of your Majesty's grievous displeasure, I began with all dutiful humility to implore your Majesty's gracious interpretation of my unhappy errors by my letters then written to my Lord Admiral, (which I make no doubt but his lordship hath communicated them to your Majesty,) so I must still, while I have a being, most humbly research and seek the same by making appeal, from the misconstructioned glosses of them that love me not for my devotedness to your Majesty's true service, to that high altar of your Majesty's own purest understanding and admired wisdom, and that of your no less renowned sweetness of nature, clemency, and bonté.

* Orig Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 97.

I cannot express the grief my soul hath suffered, to think I should be charged to have presumed of myself to treat in a matter of so transcendent a nature and importance with so base a person, and to have set a price of that precious jewel which is so far beyond valuation; and that I should be so injuriously traduced to your Majesty to be a Puritan, whose irregular scruples and fond opinions, God and the world knows, that from my first exercises in schools, I have heartily opposed. They may as well pretend any other thing what they will against me. God turn their hearts, and set them as sincerely to zeal your Majesty's honor and service as He best knows that my poor true heart hath done, doth, and shall.

Sir, grief and anguish of spirit permit me now to write no more to your Majesty in my own case; against whom I am not complexionated to lift up the least thought, no, not in mine own defence, nor to put on any other armour *præter preces et lacrymas*, which God above sees, and I hope will hear, and inspire your Majesty to conceive yet better of me, though all the world abandon me, that will live and die, your Majestys most faithful and obedient subject and servant,

ROBERT NAUNTON.*

To his Sacred Majesty. [1622.]

* Orig. Hol. Tan. liii. 290.—This year Secretary Naunton was suspended from his secretary's place for treating with the

LADY MARY JACOB TO BUCKINGHAM.*

MY BEST AND SWEETEST LORD,

By that large letter by which your lordship hath vouchsafed to give me, your servant, so many good and weighty instructions, I make myself believe that you esteem me, and think me good for something, for otherwise I assure myself your lordship hath somewhat else to do than to write to me. Your lordship hath furnished me with

French ambassador about a match between Prince Charles and the Princess Henrietta, the French King's daughter. His disgrace is noticed in D'Ewes' MS. Journal, erroneously as usual. "About the 20th day of this month, (January 1622,) was Sir Robert Naunton, that had been formerly University-orator in Cambridge, and was now one of the Secretaries of State, confined to his house for giving some sharp answers to the Count of Gondomer, the subtle Spanish Ambassador, being in discourse with him, and afterwards refusing to submit unto him." p. 54.

* This letter is presented to the reader for no other purpose than as a specimen of the correspondence of a political intrigante of no mean notoriety in her days. She appears to have been as much an aspirant for the favors of Gondomar as of Buckingham, if the following characteristic anecdote respecting her, which has been preserved by Wilson, may be trusted. The Spaniard lived at Ely House in Holborn, and his passage to court was ordinarily through Drury Lane, Covent Garden being then an enclosed field. At that period the principal gentry lived in Drury Lane and the Strand; and the ladies, who knew his times, watched to see him pass in his litter, to pay their

one reason for his Majesty's supply ; namely, the distress and want of his children. Of which reason, in my poor particular, I am most sensible, and shall not certainly forget to make use of that, my lord, especially to my friends, the fathers of the Lower House. And from the other reason of the Turk, and the misery he may bring upon them, except his Majesty may make a general happy peace, although I am not well acquainted with the story or country of that mighty potentate, yet I will be so bold as to draw this courage from that reason, that I will make some of them, unless they yield to do their best in this business, wish themselves in Turkey, rather than to endure my pressures and importunities ; and so, my noble lord, presenting your lordship a taste of my forward disposition to do my patron

respects to him from their balconies. "One day," continues the historian, "passing by the Lady Jacob's house in Drury Lane, she exposing herself for a salutation, he was not wanting to her, but she moved nothing but *her mouth*, gaping wide open upon him. He wondered at the lady's incivility, but thought it might haply be a yawning fit took her that time ; for trial whereof the next day he finds her in the same place, and his courtesies were again accosted with no better expressions than an extended mouth. Whereupon he sent a gentleman to her, to let her know that the ladies of England were more gracious to him than to encounter his respects with such affronts. She answered, *it was true that he had purchased some of their favors at a dear rate, and she had a mouth to be stopped as well as others.* Gondomar, finding the cause of the emotion of her mouth, sent her a present as an antidote, which cured her of that distemper."—History of Great Britain, p. 146.

and his great master my best and humblest service, (which, since I had the honor to speak with your lordship, hath been, and while I can possibly stay here shall be, my greatest business and only employment,) in all humility, with infinite thanks, both for your lordship's goodness and good opinion, take my leave and kiss your lordship's hands; and not having my writing hand so well disposed as that I can command it much, I will for this time retire into my closet, and pray that your lordship may evermore have all your heart's desires, and I ever see your lordship still at the helm, where you are now fixed again, and the idle murmur that was vanished to nothing.

Your lordship's most humble

And most willing servant,

MARY JACOB.*

From my house in Drury Lane,

This 28th of April 1621.

SIR J. WENTWORTH TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Desires to be excused from coming forward to justify his accusation of the Earl of Oxford and others.]

MY NOBLE LORD,

I NEVER had good fortune so much on my side as to purchase envy, nor I hope shall know so bad as to beget contempt. More than I ever had at stake is in your lordship's hands (my reputa-

* Orig. Hol. Harl. 1581, p. 240.

tion). Sir Jo. Hipsly did tender that to me, from your lordship, would blast it for ever: to produce Haly for what he told me of the tears of the people, and to accuse my Lord of Oxford* for his unreverent hopes of the King's death; in drink and discontent it fell from him. First, it was my folly to entrust things of this nature to my Ld. Gresly, and hers to Sir Jo. Hipsely, for which I had ever made myself a stranger to her, but her reason that things might go on without me to his Majesty's danger satisfied me: otherwise I had attended all practices till they had ripened ready for action; and if I found my error, that my zeal had misguided me, I would not have burthened myself to load his Majesty's breast with unfit cares. But what I have said, if a fruitless sacrifice of my honor (as you pleased to call it, when you swore to preserve it as your own life,) must be delivered up to his Majesty's service, with my soul and life I will justify all.

* The substance of this letter is explained by a quotation from Hacket's Life of Bishop Williams, i. 70.

"It was in April the year following, (that is, 1622,) that the Earl of Oxford was sent to the Tower, betrayed by a false brother, for rash words which heat of wine cast up at a merry meeting. His lordship's enemies were great and many, whom he had provoked." Oxford had been a man of no reputation in his youth; but being very debauched and riotous, and without means for his extravagance, he maintained himself by sordid and unworthy ways. When he grew older, he became, together with the Earl of Essex and Lord Say, one of the popular party in the House of Commons. See also Sanderson's Jas. I. p. 523.

But I believe his Majesty's service will extremely suffer when the lameness of one accuser shall draw on his Majesty's anger or justice. Time and patience must disclose these ambiguous things, if there be more than light and brain-sick conceptions. For myself, I write this to your lordship, that in messages I may not be mistaken. When I consider what religion and duty calls me to, I shall freely expose myself, when I weakly forfeit not reputation, and this way I shall be a companion only for slaves. Therefore, when I shall be thus commanded,—I must be free with your lordship,—I forfeit what is above his Majesty's reward or your friendship: and I will sooner starve than taste of his bounty for this act, or be seen where any thing ever heard* of Sir J. W. His Majesty shall lose as faithful a subject as any, and you never find so true a lover and servant to you; for, next to his Majesty and his, I was, ever since your first favor, as I am now,

Only your lordship's creature and servant,

J. WENTWORTH.†

To the Duke of Buckingham.

* So in the MS. Something is wanting.

† Orig. Hol. Tanner's MSS. lxxiii. p. 42.

GONDOMAR TO KING JAMES.

[Moves the Spanish match.]

SIRE,

If your Majesty will say that the Count of Gondomar is a worthy man, and an humble and faithful servant of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, believe it, for it is true ; and how wicked and unworthy should I be if such were not the case. For neither is the Marquis of Buckingham so much obliged to your Majesty as he has deserved, and he well deserves for his good services the favors which he receives from your Majesty, besides being an Englishman and a good Englishman ; but that a Spaniard has been and should be counsellor, not only of your Council of State, but also of the Privy Council, that surpasses not only all the deserts, but also all the services that I have

SIRE,

Si Vre. M^{te} voudroit dire que le Comte de Gondomar est un homme de bien, et un humble et fidele serviteur de la M^{te} du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, croyes cela, car il est vray. Et combien mauuais et meschant serois-ie si cela ne seroit pas ainsy ! Car ny le Marquis de Buckingham n'est pas tant obligé à V. M^{te} d'autant qu'il a merité, et merite bien avec ses bonnes seruices les fauueurs qu'il receue de V. M^{te} et il est Anglois encore, et un bon Anglois : mais qu'un Espagnol ait esté et soit conseiller non seulement de Vre. Conseil d'Estat, mais du Cabinet Interieur, cela surpasse non seulement tous les merites, mais aussy toutes les services que je vous ay peu



C. P. Harding, del.

W. Greatbatch, sc.

COUNT GONDOMAR.

From the Original Painting at Strawberry Hill.

London, Published by Richard Bentley, 1839.

been able to render. In fine, Sire, I will say no more of this affair, but will be cautious and speak with more gravity, since I represent the lady who truly deserves to be aspired to and sought after, because of the happiness and consolation which the possession of her will give. And with all seriousness, I will discover to you the great desire of the King, my master, not only for the conclusion of this business, but also that it should be concluded with all brevity, and that the points touching to religion give so much satisfaction to the Pope, that he may not only grant us the dispensation we desire, but that he may be obliged to grant it. And I assure you, that here we are disposing and facilitating all in the best possible way, for Mons. Don Baltazar de Zuniga has undertaken the negociation of this affair with particular and

rendre. En fin, Sire, je ne veux dire plus touchant ceste affaire, mais je me veux mesurer, et parler avec plus de gravité, puis que je represente la Dame, laquelle en verité merite d'estre pretendue et cherchée, à cause du contentement et consolation qu'elle en donnera possédée. Et avec toute ma gravité je vous descubriray de par le Roy mon maistre un desire tresgrand non seulement de la conclusion de ceste affaire, mais encore qu'elle soit acheuée avec toute briefueté, et que les choses qu'appartiennent à la religion donnent telle satisfaction au Pape qu'il puisse non seulement nous octroyer la dispensation que nous desirons, mais qu'il soit obligé à l'octroyer. Et je vous asseure que de par icy on va disposant et facilitant tout en la meilleure façon qu'il sera possible, car Mons^r Don Baltazar de Zuniga a

great affection. And since it chiefly depends upon your Majesty and his highness the Prince, (God preserve him,) one cannot doubt of the brief conclusion of it; and in case there should be any cause to doubt, I will declare at once, and will say with reason, that the fault of it will fall upon your Majesty and his Highness; for the rest, I refer to that which my Lord Digby will write to you, who, in truth, proceeds here with great care and prudence.

The heats of this year have been extraordinarily violent here, and since the 21st of June, the day that we landed from our vessel in Galicia, even to the present time, I have seen no rain. But I have always seen plenty of melons and grapes, which I should have been happy to have been able to send you.

prins* fort particulièrement et avec une tres grande affection ceste negociation à sa charge; et puis qu'elle dépend principalement de V. M^{te} et de son Altesse le Prince, (Dieu le garde!) on ne peut doubter de la bonne et briefue conclusion d'icelle; et en cas qu'il ait occasion de doubter aucunement, je me declaire asteur, et je diray avec raison, que la faulte en tombera sur V. M^{te} et son Altesse. En tout le rest je me remets à ce que my Lord Digby vous escrira, lequel en verité procede icy avec grand soing et prudence.

Les chaleurs de ceste année ont esté icy extraordinairement violentes, et depuis le 21 de Juin, le jour que nous sommes sortis du nauire en Galicia, iusques au present, je n'ay pas veu de la pluye: mais tousjours j'ay veu aucuns melons et raisins, lesquels je serois bien aise de vous pouvoir enuoyer.

* Pris.

The two camels, with the ass, and she-ass sufficiently large for breeding, I will give to my Lord Digby, who will send them to your Majesty to be put in the park at Theobald's. And I entreat you, since my Lord Digby and Mons. Walter Ashton are the ambassadors of Spain, and Count of Gondomar of England, that your Majesty would give to him your commands, and not to them, in every thing that pertains to your service and pleasure; for I am sure that they do not surpass me in the good wish and desire that I have to render you all service and obedience. May Almighty God preserve to your

Les deux chameaux et l'asne et l'asnesse grandes à propos pour la race et generation je les bailletay à my Lord Digby, qui les enuoyera à V. M^{te} pour les mettre dans le parc de Theoballs.* Et ie vous supplie, puis que my Lord Digby et Mons^r Walter Ashton sont ambassadeurs d'Espagne, et le Comte de Gondomar celuy d'Angleterre, que V. M^{te} luy vueille commander, et non pas à eux, tout cela qu'appartiendra à vre. service et contentement. Car je m'asseure qu'ils ne me surpassent en la bonne volonté et desir que j'ay de vous rendre tout service et obeissance. Dieu tout puissant vueille garder

* James had a great passion for collecting rare and curious animals, and the most usual and acceptable presents from such as wished to pay court to him were of this kind. When Buckingham went into Spain, he sent him many presents of this kind; and Sir Henry Ellis, in his collection of Original Letters, has published a very characteristic postscript, written by the Duke upon one of these occasions. See also Dalrymple's Memorials, i. 71. Some filthy imaginations have given a sinister interpretation to this letter.

Majesty as many happy years as we desire and have need of! From your Majesty's

Very humble and obedient servant.

Madrid, this 19th of September 1622.

In my life I have done nothing unwillingly in your Majesty's service, except the writing in French.

Signed, C^{de} de GONDOMAR.

GONDOMAR TO BUCKINGHAM.

[On the same subject.]

MY GOOD LORD,

I MAY say to your Excellency with great sincerity, that I write to you at all times and at all hours with the willingness and remembrance of a cordial love and respect which I feel and owe to your Excellency; and God knows the plea-

V. M^{te} plusieurs heureuses années comme nous desirons et auons besoiing!

Madrid, ce 10 de Sept. 1622.

De V. M^{te}

Tres humble et obeissant seruiteur,

En mia bida he hecho ninguna cosa de mala boluntad en serbicio de V. Mag. sino es escriuir en Françes.

S'e C^{de} de GONDOMAR.†*

EX^{mo} SOR.

MI buen Señor, en toute verité je peux dire à V. E. que ie vous escriis tous les jours et toutes les heures avec la volonté et memoir d'un cordial amour et respect que je port et doy à Vre. Ex. et Dieu sçait le contentement que i' aurois de nous pour-

* This is a monogram in the original, apparently for the word *Signé*.

† Orig. Tan. lxxiii. 160. The lines in italics are in Gondomar's hand.

sure it would give me to walk with you in the open gallery which leads from your Excellency's chamber to the palace on the Thames, for there are subjects which are more fit for personal communication than to be entrusted to writing, and especially in the French language. What I may say and do say in every language is, that the King, my master, desires the marriage of his sister with the Prince of Wales with a steady and constant resolve; and that on all sides, the doubts proposed by the Pope should be facilitated and satisfied, and that all should be finished by the post. Indeed, in the short time that has elapsed since my arrival here, it has been impossible to do more, and much has been done. And thus I trust in God we shall soon see each other here in this country, and embrace each other according to the agreement, and together

mener vn peu ensemble en la gallerie ouuerte des la chambre de V. E. iusques au Palais sur le Tamisis; car il y a des choses qui sont plus apropos pour la communication personnelle que pour les fier par escrit et especiallement en la langue François. Ce que je peux dire et je dis en tous langages est que le Roy mon maistre avec une firme et constante resolution desire le mariage de sa soeur avec le Prince de Wales, et que de ceste costé la et de ceste cy soient facilitées et satisfaites les doubtes que le Pape a proposé, et que tout soit acheué par la poste. Et en ce peu de temps depuis que ie suis arriué icy, il a esté impossible de fair plus, et beaucoup a esté fait. Et ainsy j'espere en Dieu que nous nous verrons bien tost en ces pais icy, et embrasserons l'vn l'autre, selon l'accordé et retournerons

joyfully return to Great Britain. All the rest I entrust to Mr. Cottington, who is to depart next week, (if it please God,) and by him Mons. le Comte de Olivares and Mons. Don Balthazar de Zuniga will reply to the favor of your letters, which they have estimated as they should do. So I will not trouble your Excellency any more to-day, but will only beg you to kiss the hands most affectionately on my part, and on the part of the Countess my wife, of Madame la Comtesse, your mother, and Madame la Marquise, and little Mary Villiers. May God give her many brothers, and preserve her father as many happy years as I desire!

From your Excellency's very humble
and very affectionate servant.

Madrid, September 10, 1622.

ensemble et alegrement à la Grande Bretagne.* Tout le rest je remets à Mons^r Cottington qui s'en ira, s'il plaist à Dieu, la semaine prochaine, et par luy Mons^r le Comte de Oliuares et Mons^r Don Baltazar de Zuniga responderont à la faueur qu'ilz ont receue par vos lettres, les quelles ilz ont estimé comme il est just. Et ainsy je ne veux pas empecher V. E. plus aujourd'hui; seulement je vous supplie de baiser les mains tresafectueusement de ma part et de par la Contesse ma femme à Madame la Contesse vre. mere, et à Madame la Marquise, et à la petite Mary Villiers; Dieu la vueille donner beaucoup des

* Howell refers to Gondomar's earnest desire to negociate this match, in his amusing letters, p. 116, 119.

In my room I have the portrait of the Marquis of Buckingham, my good lord and true friend, and all the world says that he has the countenance of a good fellow,—

Signed, C^{de} de GONDOMAR.

NAUNTON TO BUCKINGHAM.

[Thanking him for interfering in his behalf.]

MY BEST LORD,

I MUST begin still with my intirest thankfulness to your lordship for your so noble and kindly acceptance of those hasty lines which I returned your lordship by my Lord of Carlisle; whereof his lordship hath since assured me, to my great comfort, that I stand upright in your lordship's true construction and understanding. I was not a little grieved to apprehend by that troubled style of your own noble heart and hand, how much you suffered in so apologizing for yourself and me to Sir E. Conwey; who can not,

freres, et garder son pere tantes et tant heureuses années comme je desire! Madrid, ce 10 Sept. 1622.

De V. E.

Treshumble et tresaffectioné seruiteur,—

J'ay en ma chambre le pourtraict de el Marq^s de Buckingham mi good lord and true frind, y todo et mundo diçe que il a le uisage de hombre de bien,—

S'e C^{de} de GONDOMAR.*

* Orig. Tan. lxxiii. 162. In Gondomar's hand.

in the worthiness of his own mind, but acknowledge your honorable care of him, and withall admit of my so true allegations so nearly touching me for the present. Now, that his Majesty hath been so pleased to relieve your lordship in this interim, by assuming your promise to Sir Ed. Conwey upon himself, and making it his own, I cannot but receive so much the more contentment, in that I presume your lordship rests so honorably disengaged, and he so thoroughly well satisfied thereby. Myself do still remain under a far more awful and anxious apprehension of losing my wife and her fruit, (whereof I see by this danger she still continueth in, notwithstanding your lordship's so nobly compassionate respiting of me, I should, without it, have been out of doubt ere now,) than I ought to be of parting from any place which his Majesty shall not deem me worthy of. But I find that my Lord of Carlisle his noble protestations and assurances of your lordship's faithful affection, intentions, and promises to us, have wrought better and more with her, for her support and contentation than any other means I know could have done; whereunto, next after God, I must owe my enjoying of her in this good temper she hath been in ever since, which I must esteem good, and very good in comparison of what I was to have expected from her otherwise, if his lordship's so hearty and earnest discourse had not

taken a deeper impression with her than she made show of for the present while he was with her.

I most humbly thank your lordship for your so seasonable assuring me the reservation of my lodgings in Whitehall, which I hear many would fain be tampering with, to strip me at once out of all the hope and hold I shall have left in their eyes of any relation to his Majesty's future service.

I am constrained once more to entreat your lordship to procure me the payment of my arrears for my diet, which are still behind hand for ten months; it may please your lordship to signify his Majesty's gracious pleasure therein by your letter to Mr. Cofferer. It hath been all the services that two of my men have done this long while to attend him and his under clerks; but they have much ado to get good words and fair promises from some of them. If I get them not in whiles the seals are with me, what shall I hope for after they shall be taken from me, but that they will make it a desperate debt to me? though his Majesty hath, by your lordship's means, most graciously allowed it me and them for it. If your lordship knew how much wronged and despised I have found myself in this, and many other like reckonings, since the declaration of his Majesty's disfavor, you would compassionate my so many patiences, as I doubt not

but you do, and pardon these necessitated complaints and forced importunities of

Your lordship's most

Devoted and obliged humble servant,

ROBERT NAUNTON.*

Charin Crosse, 4^o 9bris 1622.

To the Right Honorable my singular good Lord,
the Lord Marquis Buckingham, Lord High
Admiral of England, &c.

HEATH TO BUCKINGHAM.

[Upon altering the coinage.]†

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,
I HAVE returned to Mr. Secretary Calvert the several certificates of the officers of the Mint, the Spanish merchants and goldsmiths, as I was commanded by the order of the Lords of his Majesty's most honorable Privy Council. In them all I find a concurrence in these things: That there is a necessity of some present remedy to be applied to the consumption we are fallen into for want of money, which is the very life-blood of trade. That this cannot be done but by bringing in of money from foreign parts; and by preserving our own money here, being brought in. That Spain is the fountain from whose mines all our silver and the silver of all Europe flows;

* Orig. Tan. lxxiii. 215.

† See the Memoirs, p. 171.

that the Spanish coin equalleth and somewhat exceedeth ours in fineness. That, in true value, the Spanish rial, holding his weight, equalleth 4s. 8d. of English money commonly current; it weigheth not above 4s. 7d. of new money unworn; it weigheth at least 4s. 9d. of the older money worn, for the medium is 4s. 8d.

This value would bring in plenty; for, although the merchant can make more of it in Holland and some other parts, yet it is with hazard and giving of credit, and they had rather prefer a more certain though somewhat a less gain. But to keep our money yet left, and what shall be brought in hereafter, cannot probably be done so well as by the goldsmiths' proposition expressed in the last words of their answer; which is, as Queen Elizabeth, out of a necessity of state, from sixty pieces or shillings, cut a pound weight of silver into sixty-two pieces; so the King, out of the like and a greater necessity, should cut it into sixty-five pieces, which would raise the ounce of silver from 5s. 2d. to 5s. 4d., and make the Spanish rial at the Mint worth 4s. 8d. the coinage paid.

The great objection against this is, that the King and divers landlords should thus lose a part of their revenue. Happily it may be true in some sense; but, being rightly understood, I think it would not be so. For consider it, I pray you, amongst ourselves at home, and it will be

one in substance what the value of the money hold, so as it answered the ordinary valuation between man and man. Again, consider it as it hath relation to our trade with other nations, and it will much advantage us that it correspond with their coins, else it will all run where the descent draweth it. But let it be admitted that it would diminish every man's revenue, (for so much,) the proportion would be but from 5s. 2d. to 5s. 4d. which is one part in thirty-two. Let every man examine truly his revenue as the case now standeth with us, and will be every day worse, if the drain of [our] money be not stopped. Whosoever shall now let his land for an improved rent, must abate a fifth part, and yet shall hardly have his rent well paid in money for the other four parts. I am sorry I have thus long troubled your lordship, but it is only my desire to do his Majesty the best service I can, and to give to your lordship the best account I can of my poor endeavors, which have made me to make this adventure, for which I humbly crave your lordship's patience and pardon. God is witness I have herein no private respect whatsoever.

Your lordship's most bounden and

Most faithfully devoted to serve you,

31st August 1622.

RO. HEATH.*

To the Right Honorable the Lord Marquis Buckingham,

Lord High Admiral of England.

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 145.

THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON TO THE MARQUIS
OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY DAER LORD B.

I AM glaid to haer that your litill saruan James* and his father's cuming is aceptabell to you. I uold not haue thocht of his returning any whair whyll you uae thair, bot for faer you shud be cruded & uexed with oni sair (?) stuf, and I uold be sorie to ad to your cumbir; uich if you fynd he uill not do, I shall be glaid he got your blessing once a day, as the graetest hapines he can houp for. That litter uich was sent me to deliuer to the King, I brunt befor himself after his Ma^{tie} had red it & red it again uith much joy to fynd so good neuis; the rest that you haue wrytin ar in my Lo. of Anan's custodie, who is a uerie saif man, and I must say a zelous seruan of yours. I pray God the King filosofi nothing to my praiudice upon the resunis why this paper was brunt; bot my comfort is, I shall be gilty of nothing may iustly displaes him; and it is a cordiall to me to be set a work in any thing may concern you. For thi Kingis sincer fauour to you, altho I kno what I can say can ad nothing to your belif, it is so publikly reall that your freindis haith iust

* His son, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, who made so great a figure in the reign of Charles I. His memoirs have been written by Bishop Burnet.

caus of extrem comfort of it in your abcence. For my pairt, I am extremly comforted with the iustice that fame dois, you ar diligent and dextrous in puting bisines to a poynt, uich in my poor opinioun is wysly done; for besydis that resolutioun is on of the strongest pillers that holdis up a staet, in your ouin pryuat it is not saif that thingis shud lingir; for uhat concernis you and youris at the present is to much lyk a klok with many uhillis, uhair if bot on pin faill all is in disorder. To this purpois I remember the saying of a uys old seman, that if the uether uaer neuer so fair it uas good to haist to land, becaus a storm micht cum: do thairfoir thois thingis sounest may maik you faeris fouest, sence the studie of preseruatioun is as naturall and nesisar as that of the eleuation. And believe, I beceich you, tho in your good I had not so graet a pryuat interes, my loue uold maik me do thois thingis becumis

Your faithfull onalterabil seruan,

HAMILTON.*

* Orig. Hol. Harl. 1581. f. 1.—The Marquis died in 1624. His son married the Duke of Buckingham's niece, the Earl of Denbigh's daughter. Wilson, and other of the Commonwealth writers, in order to blacken Buckingham's character, have represented him as a great enemy to the Duke. The very contrary appears from all his correspondence.

I should not have printed this letter here, (which was evidently written at the end of the year 1622 or in 1623,) but for the statements made in the subsequent letter. Perhaps no

MR. MEAD TO SIR M. STUTEVILLE.

[Sir E. Porter's accident in his embassy to the Queen of Bohemia.—Anecdote of James I.]

Christ's Coll. Oct. 19, 1622.

SIR Endymion Porter, the messenger into Spain, hath had such a mischance since he went as will disenable him for his employment. Most say that the manner of it was by reason that the ship he went in was gravelled near to Calais; and so, being in danger, to save himself he leaped out of the ship into the boat, but, falling upon the side thereof, brake one of his ribs; and his man leaping after him fell much shorter, and so was drowned. Others say that, in the tempest, the ship wherein he was fell foul with another in company, in such sort that it was in danger, being the smaller, to be lost. Whereupon, when the ships were driven together, he, throwing him-

reign in English history presents such a tissue of contradictions as that of James I.;—that is, if we would attempt to reconcile the printed accounts with written documents preserved in our different public depositories. And what is the reason? The substratum of all hitherto published histories of James, have been the libels of Wilson and Weldon, *et id genus omne*, which appeared long after this King's decease, at a time when there was a premium for libelling monarchy: both were posthumous publications, stolen from their respective possessors, garbled and altered by the publishers. "Both," as Sanderson expresses it, "born from the dead, and mere abortions; but, like lions' whelps, licked over by laborious penmen." Yet their trail is visible even in the pages of our most respectable historians.

self with all his might into the greater, fell so that he brake his shoulder, beside other hurt; but his man, following, catched only hold upon the ship-side, where he hung till, the ships falling together, he was crushed in pieces between them, and fell dead into the sea. The Roman augurs would have taken this for an ominous sign of the success of the business.

Since this news came to court, Mr. Cottington is employed to Spain, who came but lately from thence.

To tell you how the Prince, before his father came down, besought him upon his knees, and with tears, to take pity upon his poor and distressed sister,* her husband and children, and to suffer himself no longer to be abused with treaties; desiring him, that since himself was old, and unfit now for actions of war, that he would give him leave to raise a royal army, and to be the leader thereof himself; not doubting but to find the subjects ready; and that his Majesty should answer, he would hear once more forth of Spain first; and then, if he had not satisfaction, he would give him and the state leave to do what they would:—to tell you, I say, of these and such like, I shall not need, knowing that they use to fly about the country, and you may know the truth as soon as I; for I think the event

* Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

must make it appear, before it will be credible; and yet it is affirmed the Prince said so; but I know not whether to do so.*

It was talked also, that the King the last week on hunting, both the Marquises being with him, and not above one or two of the huntsmen or any thing else near him, should suddenly, standing still and pausing awhile, tell them that he was shamefully abused, and they were the causes thereof; as having made him believe that all would be well by treaty, till now his son had lost all his inheritance. "You, my lords," quoth he, "have much abused me." To which they replied nothing. This our Cambridge men brought from Royston on Sunday. I leave you to judge of the probability, especially seeing that one of them, the Marquis Hamilton, is no way guilty in this kind, being known and taken by all to be of the contrary faction; unless you would think that the King included them both, that he might charge Buckingham directly. But these are all vulgar reports, and therefore suspicious either of falsehood or corruption.†

* This is confirmed by the anecdote mentioned in Goodman, p. 312. But Mead, who was inclined to Puritanism, would of course doubt it. It was the badge of that tribe to scatter calumny on the Prince and Buckingham.

† Sloane MSS. 4176.

THE SPANISH MATCH.

F. COTTINGTON TO SECRETARY CALVERT.

[Readiness of the Spanish Court to proceed with the match.]

SIR,

By my Lord Digby's own letter, as also by those which his lordship sends from this King to his Majesty and to the Prince, you will perceive what declaration he hath gotten touching this King's intention for proceeding in the match; which, in my opinion, is as much as his lordship could expect in this short time of his being here. For considering the King is pleased to declare that he will name commissioners, of which one Conde chief shall be the Conde of Gondomer, his coming must necessarily be stayed for; but long it cannot be, seeing he landed but fifteen days since, and is commanded to make all haste hither. Mr. Gage writes from Rome, so doth the Friar, that a late letter, come thither from this King, hath put the business in such term as they were hourly expecting the Friar's despatch; and I can assure you that here they speak loud when any danger is mentioned of the Pope's denial. My Lord Digby hastens the business bravely, and seems very impatient of any delay at all. I hope I myself shall be the next messenger, and so this needs be no longer. My servants [and] my stuff are gone to St. Gehan, there to

be embarked ; and, on the arrival of the Conde of Gondomer, I shall have leave to be gone. And thus, with the remembrance of my service, and hearty prayers for you and yours, I rest.

Your cousin and servant,

FRA. COTTINGTON.*

Mad. 7th July 1622.

Endorsed—To Mr. Secretary Calvert.

THE PRINCE AND THE DUKE TO KING JAMES.

[Giving account of their journey.]

DERE DAD AND GOSSOPE,

WEE are sure, before this, you haue longd to haue some news from your boys ; but before this time wee haue not bine able to send you it, and wee doe it with this confidence, that you will be as glad to reede it as wee to right, th . . . it be now our best intertainement. And that [wee] may giue the perfectter account, wee will beg[in] this where my last ended, which was at . . . First about fiue or six a clocke on Wensday morn[ing,] wee w[ent to] say, the first that fell sicke was your [son,] and he that continued it longest was [my]-selfe. In six owers wee gott ouer [with as] fare a passage as euer men had: we all [got] so perfectlye well, when wee but saw [land] that wee resolved to spend the rest of [the] day in rideing

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 130.

post; and lay at Mont[reuil] three post of a' Boulougne. The next [day] wee lay at Breteur, a leven post far[ther;] and the next to Paris, being Friday. [This day,] being Saterdag, wee rest at Paris, though [there] be no greate need of it; yet I had fore f[alls] by the way without anie hareme. Your sonnes horses stoumbles as fast as anie [man's;] but he is so much more stronger before then h[e was,] he houlds them vp by maine strenkth of ma[nhood &] cries still On, on, on. This day we [went,] he and I alone, to a periwicke mak[er,] where wee disguised oure selues so artefic[ially] that wee aduentured to see the Kinge. [The] means how wee did compas it w[as this. We] addressed oure selues to the King's gouerner, Monsieur du Proes, and he courtiouslie caried us where wee saw him oure fill. Then wee desierd Monsieur du Proes to make vs acquainted with his sonne, becaus wee would torouble the ould man no longer, which hee did; and then wee saw the Qweene mother at diner. This euening his sonne hath promised vs to see the yonge Qweene, with her sister and little Mounsieur. I ame sure now you fere we shall be discouerd; but doe not fright your selfe, for I warrant you the contrarie; and, findeing this might bee done with saftie, we had a greate tickling to ad it to the historie of oure aduentures. To[morrow,] which will be Sondag, wee will be, God willing, vp so erlie, that wee make

no question but to reach Orleans; and so, euerie day after, wee meane to be gaineing [su]mthing till we reach Madride. I haue nothings more to say, but to recommend my pour little wife and daughter to your care, [and] that you will bestow your blessing upon

Your humble and obedient*

Sone and seruant, *

CHARLES.*

Your humble slaue and doge,

STEENIE.†

KING JAMES TO THE PRINCE AND THE DUKE.

[Of the trouble he has had in selecting the Prince's servants who were to follow him, and some grants made to the Duke.]

MY SWEETE BOYES,

YESTERDAYE I wrotte an ansowre to yaire letres by yong Bowie, quhome I sent, because I knowe he will be quikkely with you; and my babie maye ather make use of his seruice thaire, or, quhen he hath use to make a quikke dispatche, I knowe none can carie it swifelier then he: and this daye I writte these by Andeuer, quho goes by lande, because he sayes he is not able to goe by sea. But the imperfect note that my babie

* These three lines in the Prince's hand.

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 229. The margin and other parts of this letter are gone. The words in brackets I have supplied by conjecture.

left under his hande of his seruawnts that shoulde follow him, hath putte me to a greate deale of paine, for ye left some necessarie seruants out, in the opinion of all youre principall officers; & quhen as I was forced to adde those, then euerie man ronned upon me for his freende, so as I was torne in peecis amongst thaim; but now, ather this bearer, or Sir Robert Carre, will bring you the note of your seruants that are to goe. And now, Steenie, according to my promes, I tooke a full accounte of your affaires yesterdays from Fotherdie. To be shorte, he hath promised to loose no tyme, both anent the three forrests & Sedgmoore, in quhiche last I haue obtained a sentence in the ende of this last terme; but he is of that mynde to make money of thaim all for payment of youre debtis and buyeing of more londe for you neere Bewlie. I haue laitlie sygnd dyvers quillits of londe for you, in exchange for quhiche he sayes ye shall ressave eighteen thowsande powndis in money. He will reduce the charges of youre table to my allowance till your returne; & he is now gone to dispatche Kitt's bussienesse with the Lorde Thesawraire, & to thinke upon a course for paying the Lorde President of his tenn thowsande powndis. I haue commawndit him to come boldlie to me quhenver he hath occasion for any of youre bussienessis, for I haue taken the chairge of thaim upon me. I haue no more to

saye, but that I weare Steenie's picture in a blew ribbon under my wastcoate, nexte my hairte. And so God blesse you both, & sende you a ioyefull & happie returne. JAMES R.*

From Newmarkett, the last of Februarie.

THE KING TO THE PRINCE AND THE DUKE.

[Is resolved to bid farewell to peace in Christendom, if things mend not.]

MY SWEETE BOYES,

THIS is now the fyfte letre I haue written unto you, quhiche I sende by a couple of youre owin familie, my Steenie, quho are neuer asunder. The Emperoure hath now spewed the uttermost of his unquenshable malice against my unfortunate sonne in lawe, by geuing awaye the electorate to that false & unnatural Duc of Bauiere,† thogh but during the Duic's life, & with a clawse of reseruatiō of my grandchildren's & other kinsmen's hæreditarie tytles, ather by waye of amicable treattie, or by plea in the Electorall Courte; but if my babie's credit in Spaine mende

* Orig. Hol. Harl. 6987. No. 8.

† This transfer of the electorate to the "unnatural Duc of Bauiere," is noticed by Howell. "The old Duke of Bavaria's uncle," he observes, in a letter to his father, "is chosen Elector and Arch-sewer of the Romans in his (the Prince Palsgrave's) place; but, as they say, in an imperfect diet, and with this proviso, that the transferring of this election upon the Bavarian shall not prejudice the next heir."—Letters, p. 91.

not these things, I will bidde fair well to peace in Christendome, during oure tymes at least. I haue euen now made choyce of the iewells that I ame to sende you, quhairof my babie is to presente some to his mistresse, & some of the best he is to weare himselfe, & the nexte best he will lende to my bastarde bratte to weare; but of this I will wrytte more particulairlie with Compton, quho is to carrie thaime. Some also I will sende of a meaner value, to saue my babie's chairges in presents that he must giue thaire. And so God blesse my boyes, & sende you a happie iourney, (for I hoape ye are by this tyme at the furthest,) and a ioiefull, happie, & comfortable returne to youre deare dade & trew freende.

JAMES R.*

From Newmarkett, the 11 of Marche.

THE MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO HER SON.

[After his departure into Spain.]

MY DEARLY BELOVED SON,

You may well imagine how many passions did strive in my weak heart upon the news of your departure. You must give me leave as a mother to grieve sometimes for your absence, and to fear, out of the apprehension of dangers which might

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 237.

happen to you. Yet God, I thank him, hath given me power to overcome these; especially by consideration of the joy which I may justly take whensoever you do service to his Majesty, and chiefly now in waiting upon our Prince, whom God preserve! When I truly think of this, I can well forbear those comforts which I take in seeing you and hearing from you, and wish with all my heart that you may not leave your master till you have brought him back safe into England, which is the most earnest scope of my daily, though unworthy, prayers. I have sent you some verses of the Prince's journey; I think you will know the father. You see your best kinsman doth not forget you: and so, praying our Lord Jesus Christ to send you a happy journey and a prosperous return, I rest

Your most affectionate

Loving mother till death,

Goodby,

M. BUCKINGHAM.*

This 14th of March 1622.

To the Right Honorable the Lord Marquis
Buckingham, my dear Son.

The copie of his Majesty's letter to the Kinge of Spayne, sent by my Lord of Buckingham, as it is retorned in print out of Spayne.

"I have sent you my son, a prince sworn King of Scotland; you may do with his person

* Orig. Hol. Harl. 6987. f. 25.

what you please, the like with myself and my kingdom; they are all at your service. So God keep you!"

The Prince's answer to the Pope's Nuncio that brought him the letter.

"I kiss his Holiness' feet for the favor and honor he doth me, so much the more esteemed by how much the less deserved of me hitherto; and his Holiness shall see what I do hereafter, and I think my father will do the like, so that his Holiness shall not repent him of what he hath done."*

BALTHASAR GERBIER† TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

MONSIEUR,

SINCE the much regretted absence of your Excellency, every one has been as it were overwhelmed, especially those who have the greatest interest in you, as your incomparable Penelope,

MONSEIGNEUR,

DEPUIS l'absence tant regrettée de la presence de vos^{re} Exc^e un chascun a esté comme espouvanté, principalement ceux lesquels pluspres y ont de l'interest, comme vostre incomparable Penelope, laquelle toutefois en ceste mer d'ennuys a des-

* Tan. lxxiii. 236.

† He was a kind of factotum to the Duke. A detailed, but somewhat spiteful, account of him is given by Walpole in his History of Painting.

who constantly, in this sea of trouble, has demonstrated the greatness of her constancy, comforting herself with the hope of seeing her sun return above this horizon, beautiful and shining as it set. They, whom good fortune has ranged under the laws and service of your Excellency—these, Monsieur, day and night pray to God for your very happy return, even to my little George, your slave, who day and night prays for *his good Lord Buckingham*. The kindness which your Excellency shows me, his poor father, places him under a great obligation, and makes it appear in my case, that if the presence of your Excellency is to me a Paradise upon earth, your absence is to me a limbo of misery, if there be one. The hopes which I have of your Excellency's happy voyage makes my heart leap with joy, and gives me an opportunity of saying to Ma-

montré la grandeur de sa constance, ce recomfortant de l'esperance de reveoir son soleyl retourner desur cést horison, beau et luisant comme il en est party. Ceux lesquels le bon heur a rengé sous les lois et servisse de vos. Exc.—ceux là, Monseigneur, jour et nuict prient Dieu pour vos^{tre} bien heureux retour, jusques à mon petit George vos. esclave, soir et matin prie pour *his good Lord Buckingham*. La debonnaireté que vos. Ex. démontre vers moy son pouvre pere luy en donne ample obligation, et faict paroistre envers moy que sy la presence de vos. Exc. m'est un Paradis en terre, l'apsence m'est un Limbe de misere s'il y en a un. L'esperance que j'ay du bien heureux voyage que vos. Exc. faict, me faict tresailier le cœur de joye, et me donna matiere de dire à Madame, lors

dame, whenever she is in the extremities of grief, that whatever occasion she may have of lamenting the departure of your Excellency, that she also has occasion of rejoicing, and should not regret that your Excellency has undertaken this journey, considering that by this valorous action, (in which your Excellency has hazarded all the happiness of his posterity, by taking upon his shoulders, like another Atlas, the charge and conduct of the Prince of this kingdom ;) your Excellency, after a very happy return, will have acquired his love and eternal affection, in which, after that of God and the good King, consists all the happiness of your Excellency, and will have no occasion hereafter of fearing the malicious and the envious, whose malice has no power when God is not with them.

The King with great affection has sent an ex-

qu'elle estoist en l'extremité de ces larmes, que tout ainssy qu'elle avoit ocasion de pleurer pour le despart de vos. Exc. qu'elle avoit aussy ocasion de ce rejouir et ne desirer que vos. Exc. ne fust party, considerant que par ceste action valeureuse, en laquelle vos. Exc. a adventuré tout le bien de sa posterité, en prenant sur ces bras comme un Atlas la charge et conduite du Prince de cést empire, vos. Exc. apres un bien heuré retour aura acquis son amour et affection perpetuelle, en quy, apres Dieu et le bon Roy, consiste tout le bon heur de vos. Exc. ; n'ayant alors ocasion de craindre les malveuillants envieux, car peu peust leur malice quand Dieu n'est point pour eux.

Le Roy avecques afection manda un homme expres pour le

press for the *little* portrait,* a proof that the large and the real one is ever in his heart. I have painted on the lid of the box the emblem of a sun-dial, the hand of which turns continually towards the pole-star, with these words, *Undecumque ad idem*; signifying that your Excellency, though absent and transported to distant lands—that your heart and your soul, unchangeable, turn and aspire towards his Majesty continually. I think that the portrait is esteemed a very good one—I know, in my conscience, that it is exceedingly like—although I avow that M. Palmer does not like it; but good gracious! there is no greater enemy of science than presumption and ignorance. Madame so greatly deplores your absence, that she cannot exist without having your image and shadow before her eyes; consequently

petit portraict, signe que le grand et principal luy est continuellement en l'ame. J'avois despeint sur le couverceau de la boitte une embleme d'un candran, dont l'esquille tourne tousjours vers l'estoille de la Tramontane, avecques ces mots, "Undecumque ad idem:" signifiant qu'encores que vos. Exc. estoit apsent transportté en terres loingtaines, que vostre cœur et vostre ame, comme inmuable, tendoit et aspiroit tousjours vers sa Majesté. Je croy que le pourtraict a esté trouvé bon, car je scay en ma consience qu'il ressemble extremement, encore que j'ay ouy que Monsr Pamer ne le veust pas: mais passiance! il n'y a plus grand ennemys de la sience que la presumption et l'ignorance. Madame a tant desploré vos. absence qu'elle ne pouvoit vivre sens en avoir l'image et l'ombre

* See p. 280.

I have been obliged to employ all my time in finishing the great picture which I had commenced in oils, which Madame keeps, as her sweet saint, always within sight of her bed. I have finished it; and if it be not injured by the dust, it will always remain a proof of my skill. Madame desires me to send to your Excellency a portrait of herself and your sweet little lady,* but the time of the departure of the vessels has been so short that I have been obliged to send that which was painted three years ago; and for the little lady, she has been painted in great haste, and only half finished; the hands which crave a blessing on your Excellency are merely outlined. However, Madame still wishes me to make a miniature of your Excellency for her, so that my time will slip away and not permit me to

devant les yeux; c'est pourquoy il m'a fallu emploier tout mon temps à finir ce grand que j'avois commencé en huile, lequel Madame garde comme son doulx saint tousjours en la perspective de son lict. Je l'ay finy, et s'il ne se gaste par la poussiere, il tesmoignera tousjours ce que je savois faire. Madame a eu desir d'envoyer à vos. Exc. son portraict et celuy de la petite doulce Dame, mais le temps du partement des navires a esté trop court, tellement qu'il a fallu envoyer celuy qui a esté faict il y a trois ans; et pour la petite Dame, elle a esté faicte fort en haste et amoitié finye, les mains lesquels demandent la benediction à vos. Exc. seulement esbauchées. Maintenant Madame veust que je face encore un petit portraict de vos. Exc. pour elle, tellement que voilla mon temps esoulé et

* Little Lady Mary Villiers.

defer my journey any longer, for before I reach Italy it will be extremely cold ; and besides, the sooner I undertake this voyage, the sooner I shall be enabled to return to serve your Excellency. I am persuaded it would be better that I should take my departure in good time ; and that your Excellency will not be dissatisfied that I leave the completion of this great work until my return, which will then be all the better for it.

I am advised, before my return from Italy, to make a pretty piece of the return from Spain with the Infanta ; for instance, a triumph by sea representing a chariot with the Prince and Princess, Neptune driving his sea-horses, and your Excellency as Admiral of the Sea in the front of the chariot, holding in your hands the reins ; and to paint besides, on the margin of the water, the nymphs, which shall represent England,

ne permet d'attendre plus longtemps pour mon voyage, car avant que je soye en Italie il fera extremement chaud ; et d'autant que tant plus tost j'entrepris ce voyage, plus tost je pouray estre de retour pour rendre servisse à vos. Exc. Je me suis persuadé qu'il vault mieulx que je m'en aille en temps comode, et que vos. Exc. ne se mescontentera que je laisse à faire ceste grande œuvre à mon retour, laquelle alors n'en sera que meilleure.

Je me suis advisé qu'avant mon retour d'Italie de faire une belle piessse du retour d'Espagne avecques l'Infante ; assavoir, une triomphe de mer representant un char avecques le Prince et la Princesse, Neptune conduisant ces chevaux marins, et vos. Exc. comme Admiral de la mer dedans le char tenant en main les rennes des chevaux ; et puis despaindre sur le bort du rivage

which shall come in a dance to receive their Prince, with many angels flying in the air, some carrying the arms of Spain, and others things appropriate to this union. I think that this would be very beautiful, and tend to immortalize this action of yours, having brought the Princess by sea, and would be a beautiful present, to be presented on the part of your Excellency to the Prince.

I hope your Excellency will let me know in Italy your opinion, that I may complete it before my return.

Yet I feel a thousand regrets at thus setting out without having seen your face and presence. My sweet and noble Lord, my hand trembles as I form this word, *adieu*, which must conclude this letter, the length of which (I fear) will give occasion of my being esteemed temerarious in ven-

les nimphes, lesquelles représenteront l'Angleterre, lesquelles viendront tout en dansant recevoir en pompe leur Prince; avecques plusieurs anges voltants en l'air, les uns portants les armes d'Espagne et aultres choses propres à ceste union. Je croy que cela seroit fort beau et tendroit à l'immortalité de vostre action, ayant amené la Princesse par mer, et seroit un beau present pour donner de la part de vos. Exc. à Monseigneur le Prince.

J'espere que vos. Exc. m'en fera entendre en Italie son opinion, afin que je la fasse avant mon retour.

Cependant j'ay mille regrets de partir ainssy sans revoir votre face et presence. Mon doux et noble Seigneur, ma main ne peut que trembler former ce mot d'Adieu, lequel doit finir la fin de ceste lettre, dont la longueur (je crains) peut donner occasion d'estre estimé temeraire, osant importuner vostre

turing to trouble your Excellency with such a long discourse, but having had to give an account of my proceedings, and to take my congè, &c. &c.

B. GERBIER.

TOBY MATTHEWS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Of the cabals raised against the Duke during his absence in Spain.]

MY LORD,

I HAVE written to your lordship, this very day, more at large of some things which I conceive to import your lordship's service; but I have humbly prayed my Lady Marquis that she will be pleased to inclose that letter of mine in a cover of hers. This is chiefly to serve but for a conveyance to this inclosed, from your most worthy mother, who hath required me to send it to your lordship's hands.

I forgot in my other to tell your lordship that, howsoever his Majesty hath distinctly professed that he would grant no suits till your lordship came home,—and certainly his Majesty's direct intention was such, as knowing that he should be most truly informed by you both of

Exc. de sy long discours; mais ayant eu à rendre compte de ce que j'ay faict, et de prendre mon dernier congé, &c. &c. &c.

BALTHASAR GERBIER.*

A Londres, ce 25 Mars 1623.

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. p. 244.

persons and things,—yet I assure your lordship that by importunity men are growing to do their business daily. The King is much disgusted with it, but knows not how to help it; and I am told that he said to somebody the other day: *You will never let me alone. I would to God you had, first, my doublet, and then my shirt; and, when I were naked, I think you would give me leave to be quiet.*

My lord, I know well enough that it becomes not me to take these things into my mouth; neither do I, but only in my true love to your lordship, and in the assurance I have that both this letter and my other shall be buried in the bottom of your lordship's own only, noble, secret, heart. And so I cast myself with entire affection at your lordship's feet; and, vowing my daily prayers to God for the Prince's and your lordship's health and happiness and safe return, I continue

Your lordship's for ever

Most obliged humble servant,

TOBIE MATTHEWS.*

* He was a Roman Catholic, although son to Toby Matthews, Archbishop of York, a zealous Protestant and opponent of Edmond Campion the Jesuit. I find the following anecdote respecting him in a MS. in the Museum:—

“Lord Fairfax, finding the Archbishop very melancholy, inquired the reason of his Grace's pensiveness. ‘My Lord,’ said the Archbishop, ‘I have great reason of sorrow with respect to my sons: one of whom has wit and no grace; another, grace

My Lord Duke,* I understand, hath gotten divers things of the King very lately; and in particular his suit of the coals is passed, which was stayed so long. My Lord Treasurer† also hath been very careful not to lose his time.

I would be glad your lordship did me the favor to let me know that my letters are come safely to your hand.‡

London, this 29th of March 1623.

but no wit; and the third, neither grace nor wit to direct him aright.' The Lord Fairfax replied, 'May it please your Grace, your case is sad, but not singular. I am also sadly disappointed in my sons. One I sent into the Netherlands, to train him up a soldier; and he makes a tolerable country justice, but is a mere coward at fighting. My next I sent to Cambridge, and he proves a good lawyer, but is a mere dunce at divinity; and my youngest I sent to the Inns of Court, and he is good at divinity, but nobody at the law.'" The writer of the above anecdote observes, that he heard this from the descendants of that family, "who yet seem to mince the matter because so immediately related. The Lord Ferdinando Fairfax was the eldest son; and I have heard our good neighbour, Wm. Atkinson, who was gunsmith to Thomas Lord Fairfax in the late wars, say he has heard the old Lord Thomas call aloud to his grandson, 'Tom, Tom, mind thou the battle; thy father's a good man, but a mere coward; all the good I expect is from thee!' The Rev. Henry Fairfax, chaplain to Toby Matthews, rector of Bolton Percy, and grandfather to the present Thomas Lord Fairfax, was the second; and Charles Fairfax, of Newston, Esquire, was the youngest."—Birch's MSS. 4460. p. 137.

* I imagine he means the Duke of Richmond.

† Cranfield.

‡ Orig. Hol. Harl. 1581. f. 78.

TOBY MATTHEWS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Of the same subject.]

MY LORD,

THE faithful humble love I bear your lordship bids me rather venture to be too officious, than forgetful of saying anything which I may conceive to concern you. The very birds may have brought your lordship word of the liberty which men of all ranks have taken ever to speak their pleasures of your lordship, for this journey of the most excellent Prince. But I have for certain understood, that this is not all; but that divers great men are watching very close upon the King's heart, to see if they can discover any hair's breadth of departure therein from you; to the end that by degrees they might take you out from thence. Now, forasmuch as the King's affection is most faithful to your lordship, and his care is greater towards you than you can be for yourself, I do not think that the best of them dares once to touch upon so harsh a string in his princely ear. They who love not your lordship are setting on meaner people to complain to the body of the council of divers things as bitter grievances to the commonwealth, which are said to have been carried by your greatness. That of *laying a personal imposition upon strangers* hath been already presented, and flowers upon with

full mouth; and I hear that many more particulars are putting on. And the end of this design is to make your lordship very odious; and (that being once soundly done) to go to the King as soon as they shall find courage enough in their own hearts, and confidence enough in the truth and malice of others; and to beseech his Majesty that justice may be done against you in some exemplar course.

This I have been told for certain, and I believe it; and, in general, I have told some great man of it, whom I know to be your true friend, to the end that he might give the best diversion he could to such a business. And now I thought it my part to let yourself know it from this servant of yours, and to pray you (if you will pardon the boldness) to find such means to stop this kind of proceeding as may become your wisdom and greatness.

I hear the King is already calling for you apace, and desires to have you speedily at home again; and I know your lordship's nearest friends dissuade you from coming without the Prince. I am not worthy to give advice, and it is not asked; and therefore I must have little to say. But supposing that there the Prince stand firm to your lordship in his great favor, and that his mind will not be estranged from you by absence, (and how can we suspect that soul of so great a crime as inconstancy, whom malice itself durst never touch as yet with any error either in nature

or against honor?) upon my very soul I conceive that, if you should return presently, you would see yourself here as highly and securely great as ever, and that they that bear you most malice would be most slavish and fawn upon you most. But, upon the whole matter, I hold your greatness to be safe if you stay with the Prince till he come; I conceive it also to be safe if you come home when the King calls; and that you may most wisely do either the one or the other, according as you shall be induced by other reasons. Only I beseech your lordship, if you return not shortly, you will procure from hence that my lords here may be discouraged from giving life and heart to impertinent clamours. And because I am absent, and cannot speak to your lordship as I would if I were in your ear, give me leave not to exceed these general words of humble advice. If you know any man to be of a false nature, do not trust him, how much soever he may be obliged; and be pleased to learn that Spanish proverb, “Guardarse ze vos enemigo reconciliado, y de viento qui entra por horrado.”

Pardon, I beseech your lordship, this boldness. I love your lordship with my heart, I am bound to do it; and let the devil take me if I continue not

Your lordship's

Humble faithful servant ever,

London, TOBIE MATTHEW.

This 29th of March 1623.

SECRETARY CONWEY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

ON Sunday night Mr. Grimes arrived here at Theobalds, and found his Majesty in bed. Blessed and gracious King, his heart is ever open to the inquisition after the Prince and you; and therefore his eyes waked easily and willingly to observe Mr. Grimes his discourse of your well-being and good reception, honor, and love conferred upon you from all parts, with all the extraordinary and lively forms possible. And yet more cause of joy that this magnificence and earnest expressions of joy were not so much for acquittal of singular honor and affection shewed to them by a long and hazardous journey, as for the attributes and acknowledgments the court and people gave to the honor and excellent fashion of your persons, dispositions, and courtesies to them.

And to fill full my contentment, while his Majesty paused in the contemplation of the discourse past, Mr. Grimes gave me a letter from your Excellency, for which favor and contentment I have not words to thank you proportionably to my sense of it; neither do I wish so earnestly for words, as for occasion in your commandments and uses to pay you real duties to

the last flash of my life. The nobleman out of Spain is expected, and will not surprise us; his good entertainment being thought of, and, if his Majesty will give me leave, I will offer all my Spanish in thankful acknowledgment to him. Our bonfires have burnt; and the Lord of Bristowe's fine relation of the Prince's reception, with all the circumstances of it, came not to the King from Mr. Secretary Calvert until the next day: the first vayed part of your reception being added to them is all at the print, and will quickly be in all parts of the kingdom.

Since the concluding for the depositing of Frankendale, the ambassadors are earnest for the proceeding into the further treaty of cessation of arms in Germany and general peace there.

His Majesty having no arms there, that aims only at the cassing of Mansfeld's and Brunswicke's troops, and the Emperor hath so severally and grossly broken with his Majesty, especially in that of the Electorate, as his Majesty with his honor cannot find how to treat with the Emperor but by the interposition of Spain, and the whole relying upon that King's word.

His Majesty continues still his profession to his son-in-law, and all those states interested in the affairs of the Palatinate, that his Majesty will, by one way or other, accomplish the restitution of the Palatinate with the Electorate. But his Highness being in Spain upon the conclusion

of that happy alliance there, (according to reason,) all entrances to actions or intendments to it must be at a stand.

It is therefore expected from his Highness and you (and the time and place is with you) to ease and help not only the honor of his Majesty, but the state of those affairs, which is, by declaration as well as expectation, cast upon you.

This being without commandment, I confess it is too high for me; but, when the consideration of my duty carries me, I think nothing too high to reach at, nor any thing too low to undergo. For the faith of the humble affection, pardon the error.

By a singular intercessor, the greatest faults are forgiven to the worst men; so may my duty presented by you be acceptable to his Highness. My prayers to God (I hope) shall be received for him and you. Whether I be unworthy or worthy, little or great, I am by you, and for you,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

EDW. CONWEY.

Postscript.—The Lord Brooke hath conferred this trust upon me (at this time) to present his humble duty and service to your lordship, with his vows and prayers for your good success in all your ways and safe return.*

Theobalds, 2d April 1623.

* Tân. Orig. lxxiii. 251.

THE MARCHIONESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO HER
SON,

AT THE COURT OF SPAIN.

MY DEAREST SON,

THIS letter of yours is most welcome unto me, wherein I perceive your safe arrival, with the good hopes you have for the good of all Christendom; which is no small comfort to me in the midst of all my sorrows I have had since your going, partly for fear of any mischance should happen in your journey, and partly by reason [of] Mr. Crompton's* late distemper in his brain, into which he fell upon an overjoying conceipt of the good he apprehended might follow of your journey, which moved him to go to the court to get the King's leave to follow you; but the King perceiving, by his over much talk, that he was not well in his head, sent him home to me in a pitiful case. Dr. Hunton hath given him physic, but hath done him little good; his opinion is, that his excess of tobacco and wine hath hurt his brain; so that I have sent him to Whittle-wood Forest, where Mr. Napper hath promised me to do his best to recover him; and I hope he will have as good success with him as he hath had with my sick son, who is now, thanks be to God! in as good health as ever he was in his life, as

* Her husband.

they tell me. Nevertheless, I would have him stay there a year longer, for a more certain confirmation of his health, for there was never a more grievous disease in the world, as myself can best testify to my great sorrow. I pray, give the King thanks for the gracious letter he sent me in the height of my affliction; out of his love to you, his royal heart pitied me. I would be loth to be too tedious. I have sent you my sweet daughter's* letter, that you may be partaker with me of my joys, as I have made you of my sorrows. All goeth as well at home as your heart can imagine. My sweet Moll, I hope, will have a brother before it be long. * * * *

Your most affectionate

Loving mother till death,

M. BUCKINGHAM.†

Goodby,

This 6th of April 1623.

THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO HER
HUSBAND.

[Desires his return.—Gives an account of her little daughter Moll.]

DEAR HEART,

WHEN Kilegrey came, I did hope that all things had been agreed on there, and that it was all in

* Daughter-in-law.

† Harl. 1581. p. 56.

our good King to dispatch, which I was confident he would hasten all he could ; but when Dick Grime came, I perceived, by your letter, that you had not your answer : what that was I know not, for I thought you were agreed of all. Sir Francis Cotington tells me, that when he is dispatched you will come away presently, which puts me in very good comfort ; for, if I could once be so happy to know the certain time of your coming, I should be well satisfied. I have sent you some perspective glasses, the best I could get. I am sorry the Prince is kept at such a distance that he needs them to see her ; I am afraid it is a sign, if he get her, it will be long first. Yet we hear that the Prince, and the Infanta, and the Queen walked a great while in a garden together. Now Gresley is dispatched, I hope, by the next that comes after his arrival there, you will be able to send us some certainty. My lord, indeed I must crave your pardon that I did write you no more particulars of our pretty Moll. I did tell dry-nurse what you wrote to me, and she says you had one letter from her ; and she has sent you word, by every one that has gone, that she was well, and what she could do. But, if you will pardon me this fault, I will commit the like no more. She is very well, I thank God ; and when she is set to her feet, and held by her sleeves, she will not go sautly, but stamp and set one foot afore another very fast, that I think she will run before she can go. She

loves dancing extremely, and when the saraband is played, she will get her thumb and her finger together, offering to snap ; and then when 'Tom Duff' is sung, then she will shake her apron ; and when she hears the tune of the clapping dance my Lady Frances Hubert taught the Prince, she will clap both her hands together, and on her breast, and she can tell the tunes as well as any of us can ; and, as they change the tunes, she will change her dancing. I would you were here but to see her, for you would take much delight in her, now she is so full of pretty play and tricks ; and she has gotten a trick, that when they dance her she will cry Hah, hah ! and Nicholas will dance with his legs, and she will imitate him as well as she can. She will be excellent at a hat, for if one lay her down she will kick her legs over her head ; but, when she is older, I hope she will be more modest. Every body says she grows every day more like you than other. You shall have her picture very shortly. I am very glad you have the pearls, and that you like them so well ; and am sure they do not help you to win the ladies' hearts. Yourself is a jewel that will win the hearts of all the women in the world ; but I am confident it is not in their power to win your heart from a heart that is, was, and ever shall be yours till death. Every body tells me how happy I am in a husband, and how chaste you are ; that you will not look at a woman, and yet how they woo you. And

Sir Francis Cotington was yesterday telling of me how you made a vow not to touch any woman till you saw me; and though I was confident of it before they told me, yet it is so many cordials to my heart when they tell me of it. God make me thankful to him for giving of me you! Dear love, I did verily hope I should 'a had a lock of your hair by Killigrew, and I am sorry I had it not; but seeing you have a conceit it may prove unlucky, it is well you sent it not, though I think it but an old wife's tale; for I do assure myself it would not prove unlucky between us. But, since you have a belief in it, I shall begin to think so too; therefore let it alone. Dear heart, since I cannot have this, I pray, will you, if you have any idle time, sit to Gerbere for your picture, that I may have it well done in little? If once I could have that, I should think myself very happy. I beseech you grant me this request; for, since I must be barred of the principal, I must feed, as new lovers do, on the shadow; and as would one to one grieve and sorrow, for I protest that is truly my part. I would I could tell when I might be relieved out of it. I am sure, by this, you know certain news about my being with child. I would I had been so happy; but, since it is not so, I hope I shall be often: and I pray do you not trouble yourself at it, and I care not. I have seen his Majesty lately, but

have not seen the picture Toby Mathus did ;* but I hope the next time I shall. I do imagine what a rare piece it is, being of his doing. Since the Prince keeps that Gerbere has done for the Infanta, I hope nobody shall have the next he does for me ; for I do much desire to see a good picture of hers, for I hear her infinitely commended : she had need prove a good one, that the Prince may think his journey and delay well bestowed for her ; for I swear he deserves her, be she never so handsome or good, to undertake such a journey for her ; and she had need make us poor wives some amends for being the cause of keeping our husbands from us ; but I think it is not her fault, for I warrant she would fain have it dispatched too.

Indeed, my lord, I do excuse you to your friends for not writing, and I wonder they should take it unkindly, knowing how full of business you are. My lady† is very well ; she is now gone into the country for ten days, and then she will return and stay till you return. She is very well, I assure you. My brother Purbeck, they say, is very well ; but Sir Thomas Compton grows worse and worse. I am glad the King did write so peremptorily for you to come away,‡ for I hope

* This picture is mentioned in a letter from Buckingham to the King, in Hardwicke's Papers, i. p. 423.

† The Duke's mother.

‡ See the remarkable letter in Hardwicke, i. 421.

now, if they would delay you longer, you will be put off no longer. I am very much bound to my lady, that she is pleased to take my usage of her so kindly. I assure you I was very glad to see her : and I do as much love and honor her, I think, as you do almost ; though I know, if my own mother were alive, I could not be so good a daughter as you are a son, yet I should love her very dearly too ; and, if my own mother were alive, I think I could not love her better than I do my lady, for I am sure I have been ever much bound to her. When the King went to Newhall, it was reported here in town he went to meet you there ; I would they had said truly. For my own part, I am sure I should 'a been very glad of it, and so I know would you ; but I am sure I have the most reason. My lord, I have not been yet at Newhall, but I do intend shortly to go see how forward things are there. The walk to the house is done, and the tennis-courts almost done ; but the garden is not done, nor nothing to the bowling-green ; and yet I told Fortherbe, and he told me, he would set men 'a work presently. But I warrant you they will all be ready before you come for Buely. I heard the wall is not very forward yet, and my lady bade me send you word that she is gone down to look how things are there. She says she is about making a little river to run through the park, it will be about sixteen feet broad ; but she says she wants money.

Thus, hoping I have obeyed your commands in sending you word of all things you bade me, I rest,

Your most dutiful wife till death,

K. BUCKINGHAM.

I humbly thank you for the chain you sent me by Mr. Killegrew. I am sorry I sent for more now you have sent so many.*

York House, the 16th of July.

THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO HER
HUSBAND.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HUMBLY thank you that you were pleased to write so many letters to me, which was so great a comfort to me as you cannot imagine; for I protest to God I have had a grievous time of this our grievous absence, for I am sure it has been so to me, and my heart has felt enough, more than I hope it shall ever do again; and I pray God release me quickly out of it by your speedy coming hither again to her that does as dearly love you as ever woman did man; and if every body did love you but a quarter so well, you were the happiest man that ever was born, but that is impossible. But I protest I think you are the best beloved that ever favorite was, for all that

* MS. Harl. 6987. fol. 119.

have true worth in them cannot but love your sweet disposition : if I were not so near you as I thank Christ I am, I could say no less if I said truth, for I think there was never such a man born as you are ; and how much am I bound to God that I must be that happy woman to enjoy you from all other women, and the unworthiest of all to have so great a blessing. Only this I can say for myself, you could never 'a had one that could love you better than your poor true loving Kate doth,—poor now in your absence, but else the happiest and richest woman in the world. I thank you for your long letter ; I think I must give Sir Francis Cottington thanks for it too, because you say he bade you write long letters. I am beholden to him for it, because I am sure he knew they could never be too long for me, for it is all the comfort I have now to read often over your letters. My reason I desired you not to do it, was for fear of troubling you too much ; but, since you think it none, I am much bound to you for it, and I beseech you continue it. I hope you see by this I have not omitted writing by any that went, for this is the sixteenth letter at the least I have written to you since you went, whereof two of them I sent by common posts ; but I hope they will all come safely to your hands. I thank you for sending me so good news of our young mistress ; I am very glad she is so delicate a creature, and of so sweet a dis-

position ; indeed, my Lady Bristo sent me word she was a very fine lady, and as good as fine.* I am very glad of it, and that the Prince likes her so well, for the King says he is wonderfully taken with her. It is a wonderful good hearing, for it were a great pity but the Prince should have one he can love, because I think he will make a very honest husband, which is the greatest comfort in this world to have man and wife love truly. I told the King of the private message the Infanta sent to the Prince to wear a great ruff; he laughed heartily at it, and said it was a very good sign. I am very glad that you send to hasten the ships; I hope you mean not to stay long, which I am very glad of. The King told me to-day that my father should go with the fleet: if you intend to stay till the Prince's coming, then I humbly thank you for making choice of my father; but if you come home before, as I trust in God you will, then I confess I would have nobody go in your office but yourself. Therefore I pray think of it, and you may take my father with you if you please. I would I

* Howell, who had seen her, gives the following description of the Infanta's appearance:—"She is a very comely lady, rather of a Flemish complexion than Spanish; fair-haired, and carrieth a most pure mixture of red and white in her face. She is full and big-lipped, which is held a beauty, rather than a blemish or any excess in the Austrian family, it being a thing incident to most of that race; she goes now upon sixteen, and is of a tallness agreeable to those years."

might go with you. I can send you no certain word yet of my being with child, but I am not out of hope, but we must refer all to God : as soon as I am quick, I will send you word if I be with child. I thank God Moll is very well with her weaning.* Thus, with my daily prayers for our happy meeting, I take my leave.

Your loving and obedient wife,

K. BUCKINGHAM.

I pray send me word when you come.†

SECRETARY CONWEY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.‡

RIGHT HONORABLE,

I CONFESS I owe you all that I am, and with humble affection I would pay you some, but do I fear as those that take money at interest to pay debts ; so I, by writing, press your patience and increase my bonds. The Lord Kensington going before Mr. Grimes, my affection and duty pushed on my thanks for those infinite favors of yours, which make my thankfulness boundless and end-

* See a characteristic letter concerning the weaning of Moll, in Dalrymple, Mem. 179. In this very important affair, and the welfare of the "poor fool Kate," as he good-humouredly called her, King Jamie took deep interest. See also Hardwicke, i. 412.

† MS. Harl. 6987. f. 117.

‡ On the subject of this letter, see v. 232. n.

less. * * * * I protest I have not a busy nature but where duty moves it; so as, if that be a fault, I beseech you reform it with a word: and, that you may do so, I will give your Excellency the rest of the account; touching the Lord St. Albanes, you have my relation already. And now the Lord and Lady of Exeter sent to me to give me the story of the love and intended marriage of the Lord of Oxford and the Lady Diana, and to inquire of me what I knew of his Majesty's intentions of proceeding with him (to which part I had no commission to answer). They then counted to me the great obligation they had to you, and how graciously to them and the Lord, and how earnest a suitor you had been to his Majesty for his liberty; of which, upon good grounds, they said, by your mediation, they had hope it should be before his Majesty going from this place; and that the Lady of Mountegomeroy, by Sir George Goringe, had received full assurance to that purpose, and prayed me, as your servant, to solicit this will of yours to the King. And for my better assurance, which I conceived they observed was a little defective, they prayed me to go with them to the Lady of Montgomeroy; which I did, and heard from her the same things. I then spoke with the Lord of Montgomeroy, and told him the story, and the motion made to me; and found truly in him a careful presenting of his respect to your Excellency before all others.

I know you can command yours when you will have them ; and yet not to leave your works undone, nor to do another's work instead of yours, nor suffer it to be done by others.

I acquainted his Majesty with the proceedings, and the motion to me ; and withal laid before him, that since the Lord of Oxford's faults did justly deserve sentencing in the Star-chamber, and that his poverty did in some sort take away the advantage of his sentence, it might be a good argument with his Grace, the matching him with an alliance so staid, in and over whom his Majesty had power by fair pledges ; so that withal this might be provided for, that the world might not by that be misinformed that the Lord of Oxford had been put in prison without any just cause given to his Majesty, but taken by the favorite, and set at liberty in his absence, to the scandal of his Majesty's most faithful servant, except there had been some such way contrived before your going as might clear all this. By the blessed King's answer I found that, by a public hearing, his Majesty was resolved to clear his equity and your honor ; and there I leave the work.

Your Excellency having imparted to me your resolution to do nobly for Sir Robert Naunton, and his Majesty having commanded me to write to the Lord Treasurer, which letter the Lord of Carlisle carried, I * * * † that business (?)

† A hole in the MS.

which hath suffered much dispute; wherein the Lord Treasurer hath showed himself full of faithful care of his Majesty's profit, and yet with willingness and affection to employ himself to your Excellency's satisfaction.

The three first propositions being £1000 pension for life; £500 a year improved land inheritance; £500 a year fee-farm old rents. The old rents was no way allowed; land improved there is none presently; a thousand pounds a year pension is offered and accepted by Sir Robert Naunton, with two provisions, that it may be for 21 years, and settled upon sure payment. For the settling the Lord Treasurer is agreed, but not for 21 years. I have moved the Lord Treasurer, but cannot remove him; yet the work to be done now is, to move the King to overrule him, or to procure Sir Robert Naunton to accept it as it will be granted him, which I shall endeavor by the first opportunity.

All the news is the best news. Thanks be to God! his Majesty is well; only he misseth his company, but keeps excellent memory of them in all things. Those that gave the counsel to have bands of soldiers to guard his Majesty at Newmarket, have now discovered that this sufferance of so many to follow into Spain, will exhaust the money of this kingdom wholly. By this your Excellency may find how infinite the wisdoms are here; I protest beyond my capacity: so as I quit

that part, and rest only upon faith and duty, by which I am

Your Excellency's

Most humble servant,

EDW. CONWEY.*

Whitehall, 12th April 1623.

CONWEY TO BUCKINGHAM.

[The King's kindness to little Mary Villiers.]

* * * THIS day his Majesty came from Hampton Court. He passed by Sir Robert Killigrew's Park, and there saw the designment of a fine ground, a pretty lodge, a gracious lady, a fair maid the daughter, and a fine bouquet. He saw the pools, the deer, and the herondry ; which was his errand. From thence his Majesty came to Hyde Park, at the entry whereof he found a fair lady indeed, the fairest Lady Mary in England, and he made a great deal of love to her, and gave her his watch, and kept her as long pleased with him as he could, not without expression to all the company, that it was a miracle that such an ugly deformed father should have so sweet a child ; and all the company agreed that it was a hard thing to find such a father and such a child.† But

* Harl. MSS. 1580. p. 293.

† The King's fondness for the Duke's children has been already mentioned in Goodman's Memoirs. It is alluded to, with somewhat of a sneer, by the historian Wilson. "The

I will go no further in this fashion until I know whether your Excellency love journal-writing or no.

I am so confident that you are my patron, as I cannot doubt but you know, even as God knows, that I am

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

EDW. CONWEY.*

Theobalds, 3d of May 1623.

CONWEY TO BUCKINGHAM.

MOST GRACIOUS PATRON,

YOUR Grace's favor cast and continued upon me, speaks clearly how much I am yours ; I continue my acknowledgment of this truth, which my life shall make good. What I am in love,

King," says the old puritan, "that never much cared for women, had his court swarming with the Marquis's kindred, so that little ones would dance up and down the privy lodgings like fairies."

In one of his letters to the Duke, the Earl of Rutland, his father-in-law, thus writes :—"Your wife, your sister, Mr. Porter, and myself were at supper at York House when news came Dick Greame was come ; but we were so impatient to see him, that some could eat no meat, and when we did see him and your letter, they were so overjoyed they forgot to eat ; nay, my pretty sweet Moll, as she was undressing, cried nothing but 'Dad! Dad!'"—The Earl of Rutland to the Duke of Buckingham. 1st April 1623.—Harl. MSS. 1581. p. 129.

* Harl. 1580. p. 300.

faith, and power, I am yours ; and in that confidence, knowing myself and known to your Grace, give you this account. Upon the delivery of those letters by Sir Francis Cottington, his Majesty was much troubled at the delay, as you will find by his letters ; his infinite confidence being turned to the extreme in distrust, and that distrust figures to him all the evil that malice and falsehood can execute upon so large a subject of advantage as is presently in their hands. His wisdom, his goodness, his kindness, (which are in his Majesty in as large a measure as humanity can have,) seem to conspire against his comforts and inward contentment. Never father loved a son, never master loved a servant, with more dear and tender affection than his Majesty loves his Highness and your Grace. Let it afflict you as little as is possible ; for your persons, for your absence, he afflicts his blessed heart. God make me able to perform to his Majesty the offices I desire, and that my sufferings might give him ease.

It will concern his Highness and your Grace to declare your great sense and high estimation of this, and it is happy his Majesty's satisfaction and your honors look in this case both one way. His Majesty desires your speedy return before all other respects, and your honor's counsel. He presseth you to admit of no delays. If his Ma-

• jesty ratify the articles propounded, and the King and Council of Spain will not recede from the forced and devised delay of the Junto, you must apparel necessity like virtue, and make choice of continuing the treaty by according to their time for the solemnizing of the marriage in all the requisite parts by proxy, as is used in the marriages of most kings and princes; or by his Highness espousing of her personally, and presently to come thence, to give life and being to the performance and execution of the things contracted, which will not, cannot, in his Highness' absence be executed. There is nothing can be of so evil consequence as admittance of delay. I protest my heart cannot think that the worst of men, or better sort of devils, could practise so base and monstrous falsehood and unthankfulness as to stop his Highness' return. But if such felon hearts be to be found, or to be suspected by his Highness and your Grace, whose wisdoms can best look in and through their intentions; then, as when knots cannot be untied by fingers, a sharp edge must be applied, so, when justice, wisdom, and courtesy cannot prevail, courage, resolution, and force must be brought to the proof. And if the meaning be evil now, nine months' attendance will not mend it; but it will multiply scorn there, contempt abroad, fear and distraction at home. And it will be much happier to put

things to the uttermost trial in this time while we have got life and hope at home,—friends, interest, and party abroad,—than to be robbed of all these by delays. I protest to your Grace I do not well know what zeal hath carried me to say ; but I neither want humbleness, affection, nor confidence to your person, nor in all your actions that concern his Majesty, the Prince, or the honor of the Duke of Buckingham. As I have truth, I have not leisure to read this over : and it is not negligence ; for, God is my witness, I would not save my life with a wilful and gross neglect of you. I should write to you something concerning the good (?) Marquis Hambleton, who for your Grace's sake doth favor me with some freedom. I should give your Grace account of Sir Robert Naunton and of Mr. Mewtis, but I must leave it to Mr. Gresley's coming. I must not leave untold the good health of your most excellent virtuous lady, and the fairest and sweetest image of you, your sweet daughter. I beseech God send you and his Highness joyfully to return. To his Highness excuse me, and make me as you please, who am

Your Grace's most humble servant,

EDW. CONWEY.*

Greenwiche,

The 15th of June 1623.

* Harl. 1580. p. 305.

KING JAMES TO THE INFANTA.

MADAM,

THE renown of your virtues has not only induced my dear son to come from a distance to see you, in the capacity of a lover, but has also filled me with an ardent desire of enjoying the happiness of your presence, and the opportunity of embracing so excellent a Princess in the quality of my daughter,—an unparalleled satisfaction to

Your very affectionate father,

J. R.

MADAME,

LA renommée de vos vertus a non seulement attiré, come un aymant, mon trescher filz de vous venir veoir de loing, mais m'a aussi rempli d'un ardent desir d'avoir le bonheur de vostre presence, et jouir de pouvoir embrasser une telle Princesse en qualité de ma fille, consolation nompareille à

Vostre tresaffectionné Père,*

J. R.

Endorsed — “Copie de la lettre du Roy à Madame l'Infante.”

Dated Aug. 30, 1623.

(See the Infanta's answer in Hardwicke's State Papers, i. p. 450.)

* Tan. lxxiii. 236.

PRINCE CHARLES AND THE DUKE TO KING JAMES.

DERE DAD AND GOSSOPE,

THIS is to aduertise your Majesty that Mihill Androse is now dispatchd to Rome, with a direction to send the nerest way to you so sone as anie resolution is taken: he caries with him allso a letter from the Conde of Oliuares to the Pope's nephew, which wee hope, if there be neede, will much hastin the business. Sir, hetherto wee haue not receaued a letter from you; but, to oure greate comfort, wee here that my Lord of Andeuer, who will be here to-morow, hath some for us. Wee haue receaued so much comfort at the verie news of it, that wee must giue you thankes before the receate of them. Wee haue no more to trouble you with at this time, onelie wee beseech you, in the absence of your tow boys, to make much of oure best dade, without whose helth & blessings wee desier not to liue.

Your Majesty's

Humble & obedient sone and seruant,

CHARLES.*

Your Majesty's humble slaue and doge,

Madrill, the 21 of Mar. 1623.

STEENIE.

Be cheerfull, good-man of Balangith, for wee warrant you all shall goe well, for we less repent our jurnei euerie day then other.†

* The lines in italic signed by Prince Charles.

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 241.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM KING JAMES TO
PRINCE CHARLES AND THE DUKE.

[Copied from the original by Archbishop Sancroft.]

MY SWEETE BOYES, &c.

THE Spanishe Ambassadoure let a word fall to Grislie, as if thaire wolde be some quæstion made that my babie's chaplains shoulde not doe thaire seruice in y^e King's palace thaire; but he concludit, y^t that busiennesse wolde be soone accommodated. Allwayes in cace any suche difficultie shoulde be stukken at, ye may remember thaime, y^t it is an ill præparation for geving y^e Infante free exercice of her religion heere, to refuse it to my sonne thaire; since thaire religion is as odious to a nomber heere, as ours is thaire. And if thaye will not yeelde, then, my sweete babie, shoue youre self not to be ashamed of youre profession; but goe sometymes to my Ambassadour's howse & haue youre service thaire, y^t God & man maye see ye are not ashamed of youre religion. But I hoape in God this shall not neede, &c. &c. And so God bless you, my sweete boyes; &, after a happie successe, returne & light in y^e armes of youre deare dade,

JAMES R.*

From Quhyte hall, y^e sevint of Apryle.

* Tan. lxxiii. p. 242-6.

KING JAMES TO PRINCE CHARLES AND THE DUKE.
FOR THE PRENTIS.

MY SWEETE BABIE,

SINCE the ending of my last letres unto you, I haue ressauid a letre of youres from the Lorde Keeper, quhiche tells me the first newis of a parliament (& that in a strainge forme) that euer I hearde of since youre pairting from me. By suche intelligence, both ye & my sweete Steenie Gossepp maye iuge of thaire worthe, that make thaim unto you; & ye maye reste assured, that I neuer meant to undertake anie suche busienesse in youre absence, if it hadde bene propowndit unto me, as in goode faith I neuer hearde of it. And so, with God's blessing to you both, I praye God that, after a happie conclusion thaire, ye maye both make a comfortable & happie returne in the armes of youre deare dade,

Greenewiche, the 11 of Maye.

JAMES R.*

THE KING TO THE PRINCE.

MY DEAREST SONNE,

I DOE hearby promise, in the worde of a King, that quhat so euer ye, my dearest sonne, shall promise thaire in my name, I will punctuallie & faithfullie performe; & so God blesse you.

Your louing father,

Greenewiche, the 11 of Maye.

JAMES R.†

(To the Prince.)

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 258.

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 259.

KING JAMES TO PRINCE CHARLES AND THE DUKE.

MY SWEETE BOYES,

IN youre last letre by Clerke, ye keepe me still, as formerlie ye did, betuixt hoape & dispaire of the Infantaes comming this yeare. I lyke well two of the three wayes ye haue ofred thaim for haistening her comming hoame; but the thridd, of sending to the Pope, will delaye all this yeare & loose the season, especiallie considdering that the Pope is dead, and God knowis how long thaye will be of choosing another, & how he will be affectid quhen he is chosen; & thairfore I praye you, putte us out of this lingring paine one waye or other, but if she come not this yeare, the disgrace & my chairges will proue infinite. All is performed & putt in execution heere, to the Ambassadour's full satisfaction. If ye can bring her hoame with you, stryue by all means to be at hoame before Michelmasse, for after it will be daingerouse being upon the sea; if otherwayes, I hoape ye will haisten you hoame, for the comforte of youre olde deare dade: but yett, after the contracte, goe as farre as ye can, before youre pairting, upon the busienessis of the Palatinate & Hollande, that the worlde maye see ye haue thought as well upon the busienessis of Christendome as upon the cod-peece point. I proteste I knowe not quhat to doe, if she come not this yeare, for this uerrie refreshing of my fleete with

victualls hath cost mee eight thowsande pownds, & thairfore ye hadde neede to haisten the payment of the dowrie after the contracte; & if ye come withowt her, lett the mariage at least be haistened as soone as can be after youre pairting, to be performed by commission in youre absence; but I praye God ye maye bring her with you. And so God blesse you, my sweete children, & sende you a happie & comfortable returne in the armes of youre deare dade, & that quikelie.

JAMES R.*

Bromame, the last of Iulie.

ED. CLARKE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Proceedings at Court.]

MY LORD,

WITH the care I shall ever have of whatsoever shall concern your lordship's service, I acquainted the King with the particulars you left to me in trust, which gave him good satisfaction in all points; only, for so much as concerned the Conde de Gondemair, I found him somewhat unwilling to believe it, in respect he had newly received a letter from him full of all compliment and protestation to the contrary. I saw him very sensible of my Lord B.† his carriage in this business, and, by what I told him, seemed fully confirmed

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 281.

† Bristol.

in his former opinion ; though he want not daily friends about the King to do him all good offices, and to magnify whatsoever is done by him or his creatures. I have been subject to many crusty interrogatories from some of them, but have given them little satisfaction. They are many and malicious, and therefore worthy your lordship's circumspection at least. Simon Dygbie (who doth nothing without advice), jealous of your lordship, or unwilling to derive any good or benefit from your hand, hath lately written to the King, putting him in mind of his services, and desiring it may plead for him hereafter for a clerkship of the council against the power and labor of other men. Grysly the King hath rewarded with a hundred pounds a year, Killegray with as much, and Mr. Grymes, as I hear, with a suit valued at £500 per annum. So that I only, as unfriended, of all that have been employed, am left to your lordship's good pleasure ; on which (I am proud to confess) I had rather rely, than basely, for a fortune, stoop to court such men as my own conscience tells me do not love you. I shall content me, though I die a poor man, to have served you faithfully, and that no hope of preferment could ever have corrupted

Your lordship's humblest servant,

ED. CLARKE.*

Salisbury, this first of August.

* Harl. 1580. p. 278.

R. TURPYN TO THE DUKE.

[Of the cabals at court during the Duke's absence.]

MY LORD,

So far as my understanding can do me service, I daily employ it in observing his Majesty's looks, words, actions: may my soul never prosper if they appear not to me in the same shape they have done these seven years! And that reason which proves the constant affection of a good wife justifies the King to your lordship, which is the peculiar respect of your friends in absence. But (my lord) I ingenuously confess some of yours have not had so prosperous success in their affairs as haply by your lordship's presence they might. My Lady Denbigh received not the fullness of her expectation from his Majesty about some monies due to the Wardrobe; which my Lord Treasurer seemed to sleek with an excuse to his Majesty's satisfaction, but nothing to her redress. Mr. Matus was publicly and sharply reprov'd by his Majesty, whetted by the Lord Holdernes, who peradventure conceives he wounds you through his sides. Sir Wm. Sellinger likewise thinks your lordship was obliquely injured in him; the business, I know, is not unknown to your lordship. There are some, questionless, gather an almanac out of these. I think there will shortly be foul weather, and that the storm will fall upon your lordship; but I have so well read the King's

disposition, that I am no more affrighted than at hail which falls upon the slates when I am within doors. For as the King would have the world know that his choice of your lordship was not an act of chance, but a thing to which his judgment was accessory, so I well know, to preserve his own judgment, he must preserve his choice; unless some notorious defection unfasten the hold on his Majesty, which when you do, may all miseries light upon

Your

R. TURPYN.*

Salisbury, 1st of Aug. 1623.

TOBIE MATTHEWS TO THE DUCHESS OF
BUCKINGHAM.

[Letter of comfort.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I TAKE the boldness to tell your Grace that I am one of them who help to make up the concert of sad music for the little health which we hear you have. But withal, I will presume to say, that your fault is great if you contribute anything to the indisposition of your body by the inordinate grief of your mind. Your Grace hath had patience at the absence of my Lord

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. p. 284.

Duke these six months, and you are desired but to have it for two months more. And since he, who is dearer to you than yourself, is as well as it is possible for him to be without you, how can you find in your heart to make him worse by your being ill?

Some vulgar tongues may have told your Grace that the Duke is not much beloved here; but that which we here know your Grace may be pleased to believe; which is, that although it be impossible for any incorrupt great minister of state to have the love of a whole world, when a part of that world hath affairs and ends which are contrary to his; yet my lord hath been so fortunate this way, as that even his opposites in the treaty carry a great affection to his person, and set a fair stamp of value upon his parts; and this King proceeds nobly towards him, and the Infanta takes particular gust in him, and the favorite desires nothing more than to oblige him, and the Condesa de Olivares, his wife, (who is one of the worthiest women in the whole world,) is in a kind of doting upon him; and loving (as in my conscience I think she doth) the very name of the Duke, how sensible would your Grace think that she is of your indisposition, whom she knows by a thousand testimonies that he loves better than his eyes. In troth, I came from her but even now, and I find that between the blow which your indisposition hath made

upon you, and the brick-wall of reflection which the grief of it hath made upon him, the sweet noble lady is in greater sorrow than you will easily conceive.

Madam, I beseech you be not guilty of making the world sad, now that it is upon the point of beginning to be in universal joy for the happy consummation of this great business, which hath received so much life and heat from the Duke's hand. Bespeak yourself to be full of comfort, for you shall have him shortly in your arms; and in the mean time do not think him ill-bestowed where he is, since he triumpheth so gloriously in the Prince's heart. And for my part, I will presume of your Grace pardon of this presumption, since it was bred in me by an extreme desire that the Duke and you may be happy many years in one another, and all your humble servants (whereof I am one) in you both. And so I beseech Jesus make and keep your Grace as truly happy as your own heart can wish, and is cordially desired by

Your Grace's

Most humble and most obliged servant,

TOBIE MATTHEWS.

Madrid, 8th of August 1623.

Madam, I had the honor to be called up at midnight to translate your Grace's letter to the Condesa de Olivares into Spanish, to the end that instantly it might be showed by her to the

Conde, and by him to the King, and afterward to the Infanta. And I thought it would not be displeasing to your Grace to let you know what particular gust they took in the expressions which you made of yourself, and how greatly they were commended by them all.*

SECRETARY CONWEY TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

[The King's affection for the Duke is as strong as ever.]

HIS Majesty, some two hours since, having called for your letters (as he hath done often) to read, I took the opportunity to show his Majesty a letter written from the Lord Ambassador Sir Walter Aston unto me, and conveyed by Mr. Secretary Calvert, because I found the glad tidings which were brought by Sir John Epsley shortly and finely confirmed, and a discreet and princely attribute given to his Highness and to your wisdom and industry; the perfection and grace of the whole work being wholly conferred upon the dignity of the Prince's person and the worths of your well-guided labors; which, in this letter, is stretched so far as to relate how those and your long absence from his Majesty's presence had cast a gloss of melancholy upon you, yet testifying that your Grace is so much master of yourself, as, through the virtue of an ex-

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. p. 287.

cellent servant, you overcame all difficulties to do well your master's business. The praises suiting so well with the excellency of the persons, and in my humble and strong affection I was satisfied with the good, and, I confess ingenuously, did not observe the evil; but my blessed master, instantly sending for me, hath in his tender heart and affection examined the words as narrowly as a passionate lover, and hath troubled himself to think your Grace should be melancholy, that he hath commanded me to choose a man out that will not spare his neck to overtake Mr. Clarke; and then commanded me one of the acceptablest charges that ever I underwent, to deliver from my gracious King to my gracious patron this gracious message,—that his Majesty intreats you and conjures you, by all the things that are dear to you, and by the dearness of his love to you, in a time of the prosperity of business, not to let melancholy lay hold upon you, for that were to disseisin, if not to destroy, the comfort of the whole work. For if you should now be melancholy, (which God forbid!) it must be the disease of melancholy, whose symptoms are causeless doubts and causeless griefs. For cause of these you can have none. Your wife is in health, and the best of women; your daughter is well, and the sweetest of children; and your King and master constantly loves, esteems, and holds you dear, as the best of servants; and un-

doubtedly you have friends whose faith looks as constantly to your honor and observation as well-touched needle's point to the pole. And, to fulfil his Majesty's contentment and yours, his most wise and noble son inherits his father, or contends with him in the love of you. And for all these respects, and for all reasons that can be powerful with you, his Majesty once more prays you, commands you, and conjures you to cast off all thoughts and forms that are like melancholy, and to rejoice that you are towards coming home, and come rejoicing to him.

Now, I beseech your Grace, pardon me that I have marred the sweetness and grace of the message by evil narration, but that is nature's defect through inequality of powers. I protest truly to your Grace, I never was more taken, nor my affection more stirred, than by the sight and hearing of his Majesty, who seemed to take delight in the discovery of those high and happy blessings in his son, and in your sweetness of disposition, faith, affection, and serviceable powers; and then to see and hear him make all this vain and waste to him, if you should be melancholy; I do confess, I was lifted up and melted down as he changed his voice and his images. Let this suffice, coming from so high a power, to charm all melancholy. And what proud dust should I be to dare to say anything in this argument, but humbly this, — according to my duty and

sense, no creature shall feel more and participate
largelier of your good and ill than

Your Grace's most humble servant,

EDW. CONWEY.*

Cranborne,

The 11th of August 1623.

THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO HER
HUSBAND.

DEAR HEART,

NEVER woman was so happy as I am, for never was there so kind a husband as you are; and God make me thankful to him for you, and I beseech him make me some way worthy of you. I protest I could not forbear weeping for joy when I read your letter, to see how much kindness was in it, and grieving to see how grieved you were at my sickness. It has been a great grief to me to think you should be so troubled; and, but that I hope Sir Francis Cotington will satisfy you, I could never be merry till I heard from you again, for, I protest to God, anything that I know troubles you, it is ten times a more grief to me; and I swear to you, when Sir John Epslae told me how much you were troubled, it went to my heart, and, if I thought you were still so, I protest I could never be merry. Dear

* Harl. 1580. p. 328.

heart, do not [be] angry with me for not sending you word of that I knew would trouble you, and when it proceeded out of nothing but love and care that I did not do it, which I hope you will con[si]der ; and think it no fault in me for loving you so well, that I would let you know nothing to trouble you there. But if I had thought any body would have written word of my being ill there, I would then have sent you word of it ; but I was loth to do it till I was well again, which then I did send you word how ill so ever I was. I thank God now I am very well again, and I hope will grow fat against your coming. I thank God I was not in a consumption, but many feared I was entering into one ; indeed I looked very ill, and was ill, but I thank God and Doctor More and Miron I have recovered my looks again, but, if I tell you truth, I must first thank you for the good news you sent me by my Lord of Andever, that your business was concluded, and that you hoped to come away when Sir Francis Cotington came to you, which was the best cordial to recover me that could be. The physician's physic could never have done me good if that had not come as it did, for merely melancholy was the cause of my sickness. I hope, when once we are together again, we shall have no more such partings ; for, if ever I should be so unfortunate again, I am sure it would kill me : then might you have a finer and a handsomer, but never a lovinger wife

than your poor Kate is. I protest to God, I can never express my thankfulness to you, and joy, for the love and tender care you have showed in your letter; and though it was a joy to see how happy I am that no absence can alter your affection, yet it grieved me infinitely you should be so discontented; but I hope by this you are merrier, which for God's sake be, I beseech you, or else you will kill my heart. If there were any need of sending, I would send Lapoynt to you, but I thank God I am well, therefore I need not; and I am sure this gentleman, Mr. Clarke, will be with you as soon as any can. You say, if your being with me would do me good, let your soon coming work some good effects in me. Dear heart, I hope you make no doubt of that which has been cause of all my illness, for never creature has felt more grief than I have done since your going. And where you say it is too great a punishment for a greater offender than you hope you are, dear heart, how severe God had been pleased to have dealt with me, it had been for my sins and not yours; for truly you are so good a man, that, but for one sin, you are not so great an offender, only your loving women so well. But I hope God has forgiven you, and I am sure you will not commit the like again. And God has laid a great affliction on me by this grievous absence; and I trust God will send me life, and Moll too, that you shall enjoy us

both, and I shall live to bring you many more, for I am sure God will bless us both for your sake, and I cannot express the infinite affection I bear you ; but, for God's sake, believe me, that there was never woman loved man as I do you. I have felt enough for this absence ; more than ever I shall do again, I hope. I should have been very glad if I might have had your picture ; but I hope now shortly, and God knows that shortly will be long to me, I shall enjoy the principal : it is a great comfort to me now I know the certain day. I hope of your remove out of that wicked Madrill, and am very glad that you bring the Infanta with you, that all journeys may be ended ; for I should have been in a perpetual fear of your going again if she [is] had stayed behind you. I hope, by the next, her picture will be done. My lord, you gave me more thanks for my lady than I am worthy of : I hope shortly she will be here again. She is now with Sir Tomam Compton, who is very sick. My father is with the ships, and will go suddenly when the wind serves : he can tell you all how my sickness was. I thank God he is very well ; and, I will swear, loves you better, I think, than he does me. I have hardly spoken with Sir John Epslae yet, but I hope this week he will return from the Court ; and then I must have a world of talk of you, for it does me good when I see anybody that comes from you, that I may ask questions of

you. We all are now at Hampton Court, and all very well, I thank God : I hope this air will do me much good. The reason why I stayed behind Moll when she came here was, not that I was so ill I could not travel, but I was then in a course of physic, that Doctor More was not willing I should come. Then the shooting of deer is all our recreation ; but, when I think how often we have been together here a shooting, it makes me not think of the sport, but of sighing and crying to think I am so mi[s]erable now as to be out of hope of being so happy this year ; but I hope the next will make amends for this. I did desire Sir John Epslae to put the King in mind of writing earnestly to you to come away, who said he would, and I do assure myself the King has done it ; and assure yourself I will not speak of it to any but my sister, who saw the letter, who will do the like. I hope nobody shall hear of it there through our means, nor here neither. I humbly thank you your letters show you are loath to leave : they are so long I hope the next letter I receive from you will be more cheerful. Moll is very well, and is a writing to you to make you merry ; she is bound to you for your sending her a token. Sir John says he has one for her from you, but yet she has not seen it. Mr. Clarke will tell you who she is like : she is so lively and full of play that she will make you very good sport when you come home. I

hope you have received her picture, though you have sent me no word whether you have or no. For my niece Porter that I writ to you for, you need not send me any answer at all. Thus, daily praying for your health, I rest

Your most loving and

Obedient wife till death,

K. BUCKINGHAM.

Hampton Court, the 12th of August.

My lord, I go this day to London in hope to see my father, for Doctor More told me yesterday, when he was here, that he would be in town to-morrow; for which I hope you will not be angry. I return again at night.

Dear heart, I most humbly thank you for saying, if I were ill, you would come. I thank God I am well, but never shall be thoroughly well till I see you.*

JAMES WADDSWORTH TO THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

[Reports of his conduct in Spain.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I HAVE not written sooner, both for want of matter and of such conveyance as you appointed me; for my Lord Ashton's absence hindered opportunity, and since his return nothing hath

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 280.

occurred of moment: rather, we having been every day of late in expectance both of the Queen's delivery and of the solemnizing of the Infanta's espousals, I let go the last correo without any line, verily supposing to be able to send your Grace word of them by the next: but now, seeing another propio to depart before any further success, I resolved to let you hear from me as well as from others, (although I know you shall have it better from some others, but not from all,) what is talked and discoursed here of all sorts, friends and foes, among the vulgar and in the palace, about the marriage, and concerning yourself. Wherein I beseech your Grace to read this, and esteem of me but as a relator or historian recounting what is said, not affirming what is true; and to the intent that, knowing the worst, you may provide for the best, and make good use of those precepts of Plutarch, *How to take profit by our enemies*,—if they slander us, then to know better how to confute them; if they tell us our faults truly (though with rancor), yet to amend ourselves. It is reported against you, that, both by the way and afterward here, you sometimes used the Prince unrespectively, carrying too hard a hand over him, urging or exercising your commission too rigorously, causing him to say and do some things which otherwise he would not, and, particularly in the time that his Highness retired from eating publicly, you sate in his

chamber at the same table with him, yea, in indecent manner, without breeches, only with your night-gown; and in the public market-place, at the feasts, stood sometime with your back toward the Prince, and sometime towards the Infanta; and other times leaning over to see and look on the Infanta, before, and further, and more boldly than the Prince. That you were very immodest in many discourses and answers, speaking bawdily as attributing your wife's alteration of religion to lechery.† * * * * That, in the main business itself, you proceeded with much passion and choler, and not with prudence nor discretion; and, especially, that you were very inconstant in all that you treated of, to-day saying one thing, and to-morrow another,—if not contradicting, at least materially varying from what before had been agreed,—so that they durst not rely nor trust to any promise you made; and that if the Prince had not been here himself, upon whose patience, prudence, and true reality they did and do rely, the marriage by you had rather been marred than made; and that so at last they held you an enemy to it, more than a friend, in as much as you should be able. That the Prince would have stayed here this winter but for you, and should infallibly have been wedded and bedded with the Infanta by Christmas. And last of all, which is

† What follows is too indecent either to be written or printed.

most generally talked of, and construed in very ill part, that you went away without bidding farewell, neither the Duchess of Gandio, nor Condesa de Lemos, nor the Condesa de Olivares, to whom you had professed so much friendship; and that your excuse made the matter worse, saying you went not to them, not so much as across the palace-court, because you were not well, when you were there presently well enough to undertake a journey to the Escorial and so to Santander. These are the chief points talked of here, and I think complained of there at home against you; which I thought good to signify unto your Grace, the better to be prevented or amended, for so wise men ought to benefit themselves by the enmity of others. Concerning other occurrents here, the chief are, that the Cortes or Parliament here, since your departure, have granted to the King, for payment of his debts and prosecuting his wars, almost an incredible sum, but it is most certain, viz. sixty millions; which sixty millions are now a new grant, and, being added to twelve millions before granted to the last King, do now make in all seventy-two millions, which are all to be levied and paid in twelve years next ensuing; whereof thirty millions are to proceed out of all victuals, and two and forty millions out of lands, rents, encomiendas, dehezas, sheep-courses, pasturages, etc. Touching the marriage, all here be still in

most firm hope it will proceed. I am sure the Infanta proceeds very cheerfully to learn English. We say the new Pope's approbation is come; I dare say it is granted: and we think that when the Queen is brought in bed, then presently shall be the desposorios or espousals; and so great feasts for both, all in one. The Infanta's household is not yet appointed, but shall be so soon as the espousals are performed; and already, for the appointing and ordering of her chapel and ecclesiastical officers, it is referred to the Bishop of Segovia, to Padre Fray Francisco de Jesus, whom you know, and to Padre Fray Juan de los Angeles, who was confessor to Don Pedro de Zuniga (now Marquis de Flores de Ahila) when he was ambassador in England. Here was a rumor that the West India galleons of plate did not come home this autumn till the next spring; but now we have advice from Seville, that they are certainly coming and daily expected, and that in all they bring about fourteen millions; good news for the Genoese, who commonly get most for their share. I had almost forgot to tell your Grace, that amongst many it is laid to your charge that the Prince had been Catholic if you had not hindered him. Whereunto I beseech you give me leave to add a few words for a conclusion, wherein I do most humbly, and upon my knees, entreat your Grace to have a care, above all, of your soul, and, omitting all these rumors

and worldly matters, to inform yourself sincerely and indifferently about matters of Catholic religion ; for although here, peradventure, it was not so convenient, yet now there it would not be neglected. Good my lord, I do (and ever have done) avow and profess myself a loyal subject and yet a Catholic ; and affirm and can prove it, that he is no good Catholic who is not a loyal subject, and that the best subjects are true Catholics. We are deeply slandered in this point, and some points of Catholic doctrine in this particular much perverted. You have there (my lord) your own mother, whom all men commend for a discreet woman ; you have your father-in-law, the Earl of Rutland, generally reported to be a wise man. I beseech your Grace hear them, or confer with such as they can and will appoint you. I can say no more ; but settle your soul in good estate with God, and so he will guide all worldly matters the better for you : and to his goodness, with all humble sincerity, I betake your Grace.

JAMES WADESWORTHE.*

Madrid, 11^o Nov. 1623.

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. p. 316.

This man was an unprincipled renegade. He was educated at Emmanuel College in Cambridge, thence went to Seville and Madrid: having adopted the Roman Catholic persuasion, he was afterwards educated by the Jesuits at St. Omer's. At riper years he again changed round to Protestantism, and was concerned in the prosecution against Laud. He was a man of most infamous character, adapting his religion and his prin-

1624—1626.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE BISHOP OF
LINCOLN.

[Miscellaneous News.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I WILL begin this letter with recommending unto your favor the bearer hereof, my cousin Simon Digbye, who, for his introduction with your lordship, shall give a very particular account of all our business here.

Yet I cannot omit but with much joy to let you know that our worthy young master hath left this Court with the love and admiration of all men, for in the whole time of his being here he hath not done any one action to which they can take exception; but hath by his constancy, patience, ability to treat in his own business, and his freeness from all sort of vice, won all men's hearts unto him. Whatsoever your lordship may hear of the discontent in which the English are gone, it will consist in some wants, which either

ciples to his interests. "A renegado proselyte turncoat," (as Sanderson styles him,) "of any religion and every trade, and is now living, 1655, a common hackney to the basest catchpole bailiffs; and to boot, a justice of peace, in his bench-book, enters him and his wife pimp and bawd in his precinct."

The above letter is an ingenious specimen of stabbing a man under the mask of friendship, a cool and effectual way of venting malice in the garb of candor.

the hardness of the country or omissions of the officers have caused; as want of coaches, carriages, lodgings, and such like: but this Prince and King are parted like brothers, with the greatest profession of love and friendship that ever I heard, as your lordship will see by the copy of the speeches which passed betwixt them at their departure, and by their letters since, which this bearer will give unto your lordship, if you desire them.

His Highness hath likewise won much honor by his bounty at his departure; having presented the King, Queen, and all the Court, as your lordship will see by the list of his gifts, which this bearer will likewise give unto your lordship.

As for the main business, I doubt not but all will be punctually performed according to the capitulations; and therefore, whatsoever your lordship may hear, I entreat you to be slow to believe anything to the contrary.

I have recommended divers things unto the relation of this bearer, and therefore I shall not detain your lordship any longer; but only entreat you to hold me in your love and good opinion until I shall deserve the contrary. And so, wishing unto your lordship all increase of happiness, I rest

Your lordship's humble and faithful servant,

Madrid, the 8th of 7ber 1623, st. vet.

BRISTOL.*

* Orig. Hol. Harl. 1580. f. 128.

Note.—The abrupt termination of the Spanish match has been generally attributed to Buckingham's impatience and ambition ; more than all, to his jealousy of Digby. Buckingham (poor fellow !) had the misfortune to be a favorite, and in that one ominous word was supposed to be concentrated all the villany of all the Spencers, and of all others that ever had been, or were supposed to have been, favorites. Men saw themselves justified in attributing to his influence all that was untoward or unpopular in the proceedings of the government. (How vastly must kings or favorites have improved of late years !) Of course, therefore, the dilatory, and in the event unfortunate, management of this Spanish treaty was thrown upon the Duke's shoulders. We claim our readers' indulgence for a word or two on this subject.

Granting that personal feelings might have weighed with Buckingham in urging his return, (to which he was most earnestly solicited by all correspondents from England,)—granting that a speedy return was actually necessary for his self-preservation, and to disperse the designs of his enemy ; we have a clear proof that Buckingham did not suffer these influences to act until he was positively commanded by James to return, and had clearly seen, if not the unwillingness of the Spaniard to proceed in the match, at least the danger which must inevitably follow by the Prince's further sojourn in Spain.

On the 10th of August the King wrote to his son : " I sent you a commandment long ago not to lose time where ye are, but either to bring quickly home your mistress, which is my earnest desire ; but, if no better may be, *rather than to linger any longer there, to come without her, which for many important reasons I am now forced to renew* : and therefore I charge you, upon my blessing, to come quickly, either with her or without her. I know your love to her person hath enforced you to delay the putting in execution of my former commandment. I confess that it is my chiefest worldly joy that ye love her ; *but the necessity of my affairs* enforceth me to tell you, that you must prefer the obedience to a father to the love ye carry to a mistress."—Hardw. i. 447.

In answer to this, the Prince (the Duke being sick of an ague) writes to his father on the 20th of the same month : " The

cause why we have been so long in writing to you is, that we would try all means possible (before we would send you word) *to see if we could move them to send the Infanta before winter.* They, for form's sake, called the Divines, and they stick to their old resolution ; but we find, by circumstances, that conscience is not the true, but seeming, cause of the Infanta's stay. To conclude: we have wrought what we can ; but since we cannot have her with us that we desired, our next comfort is, that we hope shortly to kiss your Majesty's hands."—Hardw. i. 448.

In the last letter, written just before they set out, (Sept. 1,) Buckingham writes in a postscript to the King: "I bring all things with me you have desired, *except the Infanta, which hath almost broken my heart,* because yours, your son's, and the nation's honor is touched by the miss of it ; *but since it is their fault here, and not ours,* we will bear it the better : and, when I shall have the happiness to be at your feet, you shall then know the truth of all, and no more."—Hardw. i. 451.

The result was, (as every one knows,) that the treaty was broken off, the Palatinate being an insuperable bar; the Spaniard refusing to make any concession, and desiring the King to leave it to their honor to do something in accordance to his wishes when the match was concluded. To this he would not consent.

Some writers will have it, that the article of the Palatinate was a mere *ruse* for getting rid of the match. But throughout the whole series of papers which it has been my lot to peruse, (both published and unpublished,) it has always appeared a real and substantial article. Can it still be doubted, after the letters which have been printed in this volume ? if so, then let the reader peruse the unpublished correspondence of the Palsgrave and others, still preserved in the Tanner MS. in the Bodleian.

As to the match having been broken by a quarrel between the favorites, I believe it not ; nor do I believe any serious quarrel existed between them at this time. Such a rumor had its origin probably in the vulgar notion, which imagines that, because two men are politically opposed, in private life they must needs level their daggers at each other's throats. At least I have some reason for this doubt ; for in a letter, written in the succeeding spring by the Duke to Sir Walter Aston, the

following passage occurs: "I have sent viols and books for the King of Spain; I know he will take pleasure in them, because they be the best in the world: but because, coming from here, they may be the less pleasing, *I have directed them to the Conde of Olivares, through whose hands they will be the better received.*"—Harl. MS. 1580. p. 24.

Does this give any countenance to the sinister reports of the times, and to the equally veracious and ridiculous charge, that Buckingham pointedly offended the Spanish nobility, and the Condessa of Olivares in particular? (See p. 317.) This lady, then, must have had a very forgiving temper, for Sir Walter Aston, in a postscript of one of his letters to the Duke, written in the autumn of 1623, says to him: "The Condessa of Olivares bids me tell you, that she kisses your Grace's hand, and doth every day recommend you particularly by name in her prayers to God."

Buckingham's quarrel with the favorite was probably of a subsequent date, originating in a direct insult offered to King James, and more particularly to himself. The Marquis of Inoiosa, the Spanish ambassador in this Court, had endeavored, in a secret and disgraceful manner, to prejudice the King against the Prince and the Duke. Being required, and found unable, to prove his allegations, he was dismissed from the English Court, and satisfaction was demanded for this scandal; "but the Conde of Olivares, with a strong and violent hand, delivered him from any exemplary punishment, which would certainly have been inflicted upon him had he been left to the Council of State," (says Sir W. Aston to the Duke,) "and, without care either of the King his master's honor or engagement, hath saved the Marquis, and left the envy of it upon his Majesty, if the King our master will so please to understand it."—Cab. p. 9.

The insults which Olivares subsequently offered to Gondomar, Buckingham's personal friend, and a great advocate for the match, would doubtless widen the breach and make the renewal of the treaty impossible. But, of course, Olivares' jealousy of Gondomar would cause him throughout to throw every obstacle in the way of the successful consummation of this treaty, if he was not abstractedly unfriendly to it, from hatred and fear of his rival.

BEDELL TO WARD.

[Examination of Cranfield Earl of Middlesex.]

* * * SINCE my return here, hath been nothing done, either in Parliament or our own House, which I could give you any account of, any otherwise than by common fame I am sure you hear; viz. the examination of my Lord Treasurer his actions, which have been sifted by the Lower House, who yesterday met with the Upper at Whitehall, and have rendered him up as a man convicted of many extortions and corruptions, and wrongful impositions upon the King's subjects, and evil advice to the King himself. In some it is surely thought he will be deprived of his place and honors, if the sentence go no further. For our House, we have taken advice of a bill touching prohibitions, which is passed the Lower House, giving scope to prove the suggestion before the Judges of Assize in the country. We have drawn a petition to the Lords of the Upper House Committees about the bill, and presented reasons against it yesterday. We do not think it will pass. There is another bill in the Lower House on foot, to enable ministers to take leases. This was yesterday committed; Mr. Selden had the chair. All agreed to pass it. But Sir Peter Heyman, (once my pupil, as you may remember,) with some others, would have a restriction, that non-resi-

dents, and such as have many livings, might take no benefit by it. After the end of the committee, sundry took him in hand. Myself at last discovered myself to him, and told him I commended his zeal to redress abuses, but this course was not proper for it. Let them restore the ministry to the common liberty and right of citizens, and they should have the more justifiable reason to take in hand the reforming of the abuse, &c. It is to be heard again by the committees; he tells me, that assuredly the House will not pass it without some limitations. * * *

London, 16th of April 1624.†

GERBIER TO BUCKINGHAM.

[Giving him an account of his negociation for different works of art abroad.]

MY LORD,

SINCE I wrote to you by Sir James Arthur Long, an affair has been submitted to me, the importance of which made me resolve not to set out the day after for Rome without first informing your Excellency of it; and inasmuch as I

MONSEIGNEUR,

DEPUIS que j'ay escript à vos. Ex. par le Schevallier Jhaemes Arter Lonij, m'a esté représenté un affaire, dont l'importance m'a faict resoudre de ne partir le lendemain pour R. avant que la comuniquer à vos. Exc.; et d'autant que je considerois

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. p. 357.

considered that a reply from you by letter, would be too late, or might be inconvenient, I resolved to post with all speed, in order to communicate this business to your Excellency by word of mouth, and so in a week to return with a prompt answer and resolution, whereby my diligence in my journey would be but little diminished. To this resolution I joined its execution, and came with all speed to Boulogne, where I found the wind so contrary, and the sea so rough, and my stomach so indisposed, that, my courage and resolution failing, I have again recourse to pen and paper, and resolve to send by those who endure the sea better than I can; hoping that your Excellency will take the trouble to consider and read it, and to let me have a prompt reply at Calais by the first that is coming there.

que la reponssse par lettres de vostre part seroit trop longue ou peut estre incomode, je m'estois resolu de prendre la poste en toute diligence pour comuniquer ceste affaire de bouche à vos. Ex. et ainssy avecque une promte responsse et resolution retourner en une semaine, laquelle n'amoindriroit que fort peu de la diligence que je feray à mon voyage. A ceste resolution j'ay adjoutté le fect, et suis veni en toute diligence jusques à Boulogne, où j'ay trouvé le vent sy contraire, la mer sy turbullante, et mon estomac sy mal disposé, que j'ay failly de courage en ma resolution, aians repris recours à la plume et à ce papier lequel je me resous d'envoyer par ceux quy endurent mieux le mer que moy; esperant que vos. Exc. prendra la peyne de le considerer et lire, et me faire aveoir une promte responce à Calais, par le premier quy viendera.

In order properly to represent this matter to your Excellency, I must begin by the story of the pictures, which form one of the objects at which all this is aimed. I mentioned, in my former letter by Sir James Arthur Long, the large and rare paintings in possession of a person called President Chevallier, who has also some antique heads in marble and in bronze, the whole neither to be sold nor to be given away without some scheme; but I have sworn to myself, as I did about the Prelate of Venice, that we must have them or I lack invention, for, as they are the ornament of a handsome house in France, they must be jewels at York House. These paintings and these heads, five thousand pounds sterling in tapestry, rich with gold and silver

Pour doncques bien remontrer à vos. Ex. céste affaire, il faut commencer par le recit de tableaux lesquels sont une des buttes où icelle tend. J'ay faict mention en ma precedente lettre de S. Jaems Artur Lonij,* des grands et rares tableaux appartenans à un nommé le President Chevallier, lequel a aussy quelque testes entiques, de marbre et de bronse, toutes n'estans ny à vendre ny à donner, sy ce n'est par quelque invention; mais j'ay juré en moy mesme comme je fis du prelat de Venise, qu'il les faut aveoir ou bien manquer d'invention, car comme elles sont l'ornement d'une belle mayson en France, il faut qu'elles soient des joyeux de Jorck-hous. Ces tableaux et ces testes cinq mille livres sterlinx en tapisseries riches d'or,

* Long (?)

and silk, and made after a pattern by Raphael, and one hundred and fifty thousand francs in cash, which make fifteen thousand pounds sterling, are within the centre and circumference of this business; I fear the long recital of it will make your Excellency as weary as I am vexed at the sea, that prevents my seeing your blessed countenance.

This is the matter. The very day that I had given my last letter to S. James Arthur Long, a stranger came to see me, who had heard that I was in the employ of the Duke of Buckingham, and who, as I very well remarked, had taken notice of the pictures which I had been looking for; he addressed me in these words: The marriage concluded, people were now only anxious for the arrival of the Duke of Buckingham, whose virtue

d'argent et de soye faites sur le patron de Raphael, et cent cinquante mille franx d'argent contant, quy sont quinze mille livres sterlinx, sont dedens le circuit et centre de ceste affaire, dont le long recit j'ay peur lassera vos. Exc. aultant comme je me fasche contre la mer quy m'enpesche de veoir vostre bien heureux visage.

C'est issy l'affaire. Ce jour mesme que j'avois donné ma derniere lettre à S. Jaems Artur Lonij m'est venu trouver un homme incognu lequel ayant ouij dire que j'estois serviteur du Duc de Buckingham, et à ce que je remarquois fort bien avoit pris cognoissance des tableaux que j'avois cherché, *me dict ces parolles, que le mariage maintenant conclu, l'on n'attendoit aultre que la venue du Duc de Buckingham, dont la vertu et la faveur en un temps sy extraordinaire ne pouroit manquer qu'il n'aquist le*

and popularity, in a time so extraordinary, could not fail of acquiring for him the power of doing any good service to whom he would; that if it were the will and favor of the Duke to show it to one who cast the anchor of his hopes upon his arrival, that not only he would present him with all the pictures which I had seen, but also 50,000 francs' worth of Raphael tapestry, and a present of 150,000 francs besides.

I answered him in this manner :

That, though a servant of the Duke of Buckingham, my passion did not transport me to say more of him than all the world to whom he was known allowed to be his right, that his other virtues had produced this one in him, that nothing could more incline him to act virtuously than the love of virtue itself; and that, as he was devoted to worthy and exalted things, he was an

pouvoir de faire quelque bon coup à quelqu'un; que sy c'estoit la volonté et la faveur du Duc de le demontrer envers un lequel jettoit l'encre de son esperance en sa venue, que non seulement il luy seroit faict present de tout les tableaux que j'avois veu, mais aussy de cinquante mille frans en tapisseries de Raphael, et un present de cent cinquante mille francx.

Je luy fis response en ceste maniere :

Que pour estre serviteur du Duc de Buckingham, la passion ne me transportoit à dire plus que tout le monde quy le cognoist luy donnent ce droict; que les vertus ont faict naistre en luy ceste vertu, qu'il ne fust jamais plus inclinné à faire du bien que pour l'amour de la vertu mesme, et que comme il estoit adonné aus choses dignes et relevées, il estoit ennemy

enemy of all that is base and low, more especially avoiding the having his eye or his hand in the direction of lines which are not perpendicular, that is to say, meddling with any affair unjust or contemptible, much less would he be concerned in any thing that was mercenary.

On this he made answer, that the reputation that went abroad of your Excellency was no other, and this was the reason they had rested their hopes on so good a foundation; that truly, in deciphering your natural character, he had on a superficial view a leaning a little towards an unfavorable opinion; that he must now observe, that an offence and unjust cause attaches no shame to him who intercedes for a pardon; and as it is the virtue and privilege of a judge to use pity as well as justice, so it was no common glory to him by whose means a pardon is obtained, and without

des choses basses et viles, evittant sur tout d'aveoir l'oeuil ou la main tirant aux lignes quy ne sont perpendicullaires, c'est à dire, de se meller d'une chose injuste ou contemtible, combien moins mercenaire.

Sur quoy il me fist responsse, que la renommée quy couroit de vos. Exc. n'estoist aultre, et que c'estoit la cause qu'ils avoient dressé leurs esperance sur un sy bon fondement; que vraiment luy aiant, en deschifrant vos. naturel, un peu donné sur un mal, quy est la fasse de l'afaire, il estoit contraint de respondre que une offence et cause injuste n'aportte point de hontte à celuy quy intercedde pour pardon; et comme c'est la vertu et le pouvoir d'un juge d'user de sa misericordde comme de sa justice, aussy c'estoist une gloire non comune à celuy quy

any exception of the crime, so long as it does not approach to either murder or treason. To describe then the affair in brief, he said that a certain clerk of a financier of the King had been guilty of some forgetfulness in the exercise of the equity of his charge, who being absent and exiled for fear of being taken prisoner, not only on account of his own person, but of the reputation of his master, who was not accused nor known in the matter, and whose ruin would be great and deplorable if the said clerk were to be constrained to come to a day of trial to render his accounts; for then his little fault would be the cause of the discovery of the infirmity of his master, and perhaps, as I think, of others, who, as links of a chain, depend one upon the other; so that, if it were possible to obtain the pardon of the servant, the pot aux roses would not be discovered.

est cause du pardon sans exeption de crime quand elle ne touche au meurtre ou la trahison. Pour donques le descripre au plus bref. *Il dist qu'un certain comis de finansier du Roy c'estoist oublié à l'exercisse de l'equitté de sa charge, lequel estant apsente et exillé de peur d'estre pris prisonnier, non seulement pour sa personne mais pour le respect de son maistre, lequel n'estoit pas acusé ny cognu, dont la ruinne ceroit grande et desplorable sy le dict commis seroit contraint de venir au jour du jugement rendre conte. Car alors sa petite faulte seroit cause de la descouverte de l'infirmité de son maistre, et peut estre, à ce que je remarque, d'aultres, lesquels comme agneaus d'une chaine despendent les uns des aultres: que s'il*

They imagine and assure themselves it would be easy for your Excellency to obtain this pardon at a time so extraordinary; and promise to find means and inventions so honorable, that the affair should succeed to your satisfaction, and that to the day of judgment there should be nothing known of it. They make no difficulty as to the success of this affair, if your Excellency would but undertake the matter; and as for the offer which they have made, with a thousand protestations and vows, they think that a present has no savor of any thing mercenary; and since even the gods refuse not offerings, that great men cannot be sullied by accepting them. They have only a fortnight to wait for your determination and favorable answer; that, if in that time they could have your answer, they would delay the matter

estoit possible d'aveoir le pardon du serviteur, le pot aux roses ne seroit point descouvert. Ce qu'ils s'imaginent et s'aseurent que seroit fassille à vos. Exc. d'acquérir ce pardon en un temps sy extraordinaire, et ce promettent de trouver des moiens et inventions sy honnorables que la chose reuciroit à vos. contentement, et qu'au jour de l'eternitté il n'en seroit jamais rien sceu. Ils ne font difficulté au reusiment de l'affaire, sy vos. Exc. veust accepter le party, et pour l'offre qu'ils ont faict, avecque mille protestations et voeux, ils croient que un present ne resent nullement d'un merssenaire; et puis que les Dieux ne refusent les offrandes, que les grands ne peuvent estre entaché de visse les acceptant. Ils n'ont que quinze jours de temps pour at-

till the time that your Excellency would be here.

I made them this answer, that I feared to entertain any thoughts of any thing that could give you offence, much less would I do any such thing ; and that I could not but hesitate to give them at once an absolute answer ; but I would, however, endeavor to learn your pleasure, hoping that your great goodness will pardon me if I offend in doing so. I told them that I would write, and in the meanwhile I would make a trip to Tours, Orleans, and those quarters, to the Ambassadors. I said too that I had received news of my wife, who was very unwell, and so I was going post to England. They had nothing to charge me with except their compliments. I then thought in my mind, that it was my duty,

tendre vos. resolution et favorable grace, que sy en ce temps ils peuvent aveoir responsse ils trainneront l'afaire, jusques au temps que vos. Exc. sera issy.

Je leur ay respondu que je craignois de penser auqu'une chose quy vous pouroit offencer, combien moins le faire ; et que pour leur rendre une apsolutte resolution d'abort, cela me donnoit bien du penssement, mais toutesfois que je tenterois de saveoir vos. plaisir, esperans que sa toutte bonté me pardonnera sy je l'offensse en se faisant. Je leur ay dist que j'escriverois, et qu'en attendant je ferois un petit voyage à Tours, Orleans, et ces quartiers là, aux Ambassadeurs. J'ay dict que j'avois receu nouvelles de ma femme, laquelle estoit fort mallade, et ainssy m'en allois en poste en Engleterre ; ils ne m'ont rien

my sweet lord and more than father, to inform your Excellency of this affair ; and, in order to gain time, not spare myself the trouble of going post to London instead of to Orleans ; from which place, as I proposed, I should have been able to return in a week, had the sea been favorable, for I arrived in twenty-four hours at Boulogne by muddy roads.

I think I remark that the President, who has the pictures, has an interest in the business, for he was very complaisant one day when I went to see him, and said to me laughing, No, no, sir, they are not to be sold at all ; and I replied only with the word *But*, without saying any thing more. And I am well convinced, that the man who spoke with me looked that way, and I suspect will not say his name, nor the name of him who

enchargé sinon leurs recommandations. J'ay donques imaginé en mon esprit que c'estoit mon deveoir, mon doux Seigneur et plus que pere, de faire cognoistre ceste affaire à vostre Exc. et pour gagner temps de n'espargner la peyne de courir la poste vers Londres au lieu d'Orleans. Duquel lieu, comme je m'estois proposé, j'eusse peu estre de retour en une semaine sy la mer me vouloit estre favorable. Car je suis venu en vintequatre heures à Boulogne, par les chemains fengeux.

A ce que je remarque, le President quy a les tableaux a de l'insterest en ceste affaire, car il me fist bonne mine un jour que je l'alay veoir, et me dist en riant, Non, non, Monsieur, ils ne sont point à vendre ; et j'adjouttoit le mot de *Mais*, sens plus rien dire, et j'ay bien veu que cest homme quy parloit à

employs him, until they know your will; then they will discover themselves. There are many things to say that cannot be expressed in writing, for fear of wearying your patience too much. If it please your Excellency to speak in this business, these pictures will come into our hands with all the rest. The tapestries are on the road from Antwerp to Paris; and, for the other sum, they promise, as I have said, fifteen thousand pounds sterling. I think, my lord, that coming for a week out of the journey undertaken will not retard business; for, now the marriage is accomplished, friendship has its turn, as your Excellency knows. At Rome there will be more opportunity and means of having something, and thither I shall hurry post with all speed as soon as I receive your Excellency's answer about

moy inclinoit vers ce cotté là, et fort suspects ne veust dire son nom, ny le nom de cil quil l'envoye, jusques à ce qu'ils ayent une responsse de vostre volonté, alors il se descouvriront. Il y a beaucoup de choses à dire que la plume n'est capable d'esprimer de peur de troubler trop long-temps vos. patience. S'il plaist à vos. Exc. de prendre la volonté de parler pour céste affaire, ces tableaux nous tomberont en mains et toute la reste. Les tapisseries sont en chemin d'Envers qu'il faict venir à Paris; et pour l'autre somme, ils promettent comme j'ay dict quinze mille livres sterlinx. Je croy, Monseigneur, que venant une semaine hors du voyage entrepris, que cela ne retardera rien les affaires, car maintenant le mariage acomply, l'amitié a ce lieu que vos. Exc. sçait à R. il j'aura encore plus d'affaire et moien d'aveoir quelque chose, où je m'envolleray en poste en

this business. If your Excellency undertakes this affair, I will leave my address at Paris, and will, as becomes me, advise your Excellency of every thing. However I will not do as John Tredecant, who asks pardon at the beginning; for as your Excellency well replied to him at Newhall, that, for him who has an evil purpose to offend, asking pardon first is not enough: but at the end, on my knees, my lord, I ask pardon, if my ignorant zeal has made me slip into any fault. During the time I have been in Paris, I have not passed one hour without searching after some rarity; and I should have stayed there but four days, had it not been, as I thought, very necessary that I should find out all that there is in Paris; and I never could have thought that they had so many rare things in France, all which are to

toute dilligence aussy tost que j'auray responsse de vos. Exc. sur ceste affaire. Sy vos. Exc. accepte l'affaire, je laisseray adresse à Paris, et donneray advis de tout à vos. Exc. comme il faut. Maintenant je ne feroiy comme Jhean Tredecant, lequel demande pardon au commencement. Car comme vos. Exc. luy responda bien à Nieniohal que celui quy a un mauvais vouloir d'offencer, demander pardon auparavant n'est pas assez. Mais à la fin à genous, Monseigr, je vous demande pardon sy mon ignorant zelle m'a faict glisser en quelque faute; pour le temps que j'ay esté à Paris, je n'y ay esté une heure sens chercher apres quelque rareté, et n'y eusse demeuré que quatre jours, n'estoit que j'ay jugé estre fort nessesaire que je trouvasse tout ce qu'il i a en Paris, et n'eusse jamais penssé qu'il i auroit tent de rare choses en France, lesquelles doivent tous

come into your hands at your happy arrival. I beg your Excellency yet to read the other sheet, and you will there see three rare pictures of Michael Angelo Raphael. It is, my lord, because since my last I have found at the house of the Bishop of Paris three of the most rare pictures that can be. The first is a St. Francis, a good-sized painting, from the hand of the Cavalier Ballion, as good as Michael Angelo Carazoago; and the other a picture of our Lady by Raphael, which is repainted by some devil who I trust was hanged; but still it is so lovely, and the drawing is so fine, that it is worth a thousand crowns. There is another picture of Michael Angelo Bonnarotta; but that should be seen kneeling, for it is a Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John,—the most divine thing in

tomber entre vos mains à vostre heureuse arivée. Je supplie vos. Exc. de lire encore l'autre feuille et vous i voyrez trois rares tableaux de Michel Angel Rapael. C'est, Monseigr, que depuis ma derniere j'ay trouvé chez l'Evesque de Paris trois les plus rares tableaux que ce peut. Le premier c'est un St. François, assez grand tableau, de la main du Cavallier Ballion aussy bon que Michel Angelo Carazoago,* et l'aulture un tableau d'une Nostre Dame de Raphael, laquelle a esté repintie par quelque diable qu'il fust pendu, mais toutesfois encore sy amiable et le traict sy beau que sela vaut mille escus. Encore un aulture tableau de Michel Angelo Bonnarotta, mais il faut veoir cela à jenous, car c'est un Crucifix avecque la Vierge et

* Corasiago.

the world. I have been such an idolater as to kiss it three times, for there is nothing that can be more perfect. It is a miniature. I have a hundred thousand things to say, but I offend too much in trespassing so long upon your patience. I have met with a most beautiful piece of Tintoret, of a Danae, a naked figure the most beautiful, that flint as cold as ice might fall in love with it. I have given twenty crowns in hand; it costs, with another head of Titian, sixty pounds sterling. I have given also twenty crowns in hand for the Gorgon's head; it costs two hundred crowns. I have not yet paid for them, because I was not willing to draw bills until I knew how much I should employ at Paris, which I shall know when I leave. But, my lord, after your Excellency shall

St. Jhean, la plus divine chose du monde. J'ay faict tant de l'idollatre que je l'ay baisé trois fois, car il n'y a rien quy puisse passer à la perfection. Il est en petit. J'ay cent mille de choses à dire, mais j'ofence trop à tenter si longtemps vos. passiance. J'ay rencontré la plus belle pïesse Tintoret d'une Dané, un corps tout nud, le plus beau, qu'un caliou froit de glasse en devieroit amoureux. J'ay donné vint escus en main; elle couste avecque une aultre teste de Titian, soisante livres sterlinx. J'ay donné aussy vint escus en main sur la teste de Jorgon; couste deux cents escus. Je ne les ay pas encore payé, parce que je n'ay pas voulu tirer argent sur mes papiers jusques à ce que je sache combien j'emplieray à Paris, ce que je sauray quand je partiray. Mais, Monseigneur, appres que vos. Ex.

have made a large collection, I beg of you to attack Mons^r de Montmorency, for he has the most beautiful statues that can be spoken of; that is to say, Two Slaves by Michael Angelo, and some others. He is so liberal that he will not refuse them. I beg of you to mention it to Mons^r de Fiat, for perhaps he has some friends about him. I hope that your Excellency will carry away fine things from France, particularly the sweet Lady, of whom the Embassadors command me to say to your Excellency, that she esteems herself as happy as if she were to have the monarch of all kings; and she was so transported with joy that she would not speak coyly, but she was forced to confess before all the world, that since it was true that my lord the Prince was a prince in all points, so accomplished, and

aura amassé beaucoup, je la supplie de donner bataille à Mons^r de Momoranssy, car il a les plus belles statues que dire ce peut; assaveoir, Deux Esclaves de Michel Angelo, et encore aultres. Il est sy liberal qu'il ne les refusera pas. Je vous prie toucher en à Mons^r de Fiat, car peut estre il a quelques amis envers luy. J'espere que vos. Ex. renportera de belles choses de France, principalement la doulce Madame dont les ambassadeurs me commenderent de faire ce recit à vos. Ex. que elle se reputoit sy heureuse comme sy elle devoit aveoir le monarq de tout le rois, et qu'elle estoit sy transportée de joye qu'elle ne vouloit pas faire la petite bouche, mais qu'elle estoit contrainte de le confesser devant tout le monde que puis que c'estoit la veritté, que Monseig^r le Prince estoist un prince sy accomply, & sy parfaict et adroit en toute pars, qu'elle avoit

so perfect, and expert, she had two-fold reason to love and honor him; adding this parenthesis, (that if Nature had not been so favorable to him as to give him a good figure, that nevertheless it was necessary she should have him for reasons of state,) but since he was so accomplished, her happiness was complete. I hope also, my lord, that your hopes will be accomplished in spite of the Spanish factions, that may now well go to the Chateau de Crevecœur. The picture of the Secretary of Titian I send by the bearer, to be delivered at York House to my father-in-law, who will put it in a frame. It is a jewel.

I beg, my lord, if it be possible, do me the favor to let me have an answer to this business at Calais; so that, if your Excellency does not find the business convenient, they may try

double occasion de l'aimer et de l'honorer, adjouttant ceste parantese (que quand bien la Nature ne luy eust esté favorable de l'aveoir rendu bien faict, que pourtant il le faudroit aveoir par raison d'estat), mais puis qu'il estoit sy acomply, que sa felicitté estoit accomplie. J'espere aussy, Monseigr, que ce sera l'acomplie de vostre esperance en despitte des factions Espagnoles, quy peuvent bien aller à present au Chateau de Crevecœur. Le tableau du Secretaire de Titian je l'envoye par ce porteur pour le faire tenir à Jorck hous à mon beau perre quy le mettera sur un châssis. Cest un joyau.

Je supplie, Monseigneur, s'il est possible, de me faire la grace que je puisse aveoir responsse de ceste afaire à Calais, affin que sy vos. Exc. ne trouve ceste afaire convenable, l'on es-

some other way, as I had written about Mons. Desplan.

Will your Excellency order that the letter you may please to send me be directed to Calais, at the post-office, to Balthasar Gerbier. And as soon as I have the answer, I will start, without losing a day, to Paris.

If it appears to your Excellency that the letters I have for the little man and for Ro. are too old, it would be proper to have others; but if they will do, I will say that I have been ill at Paris.

I will give so good a direction in the memorandum that I leave in the hands of the Embassadors, that your Excellency will see where all the pictures are. But lastly, my lord, do you beg of Madame that she will be pleased to furnish York House; for this Mons^r Chevreuse,

prouve quelque aultre chemain, comme j'avois escript de Mons^r Desplan.

Vos. Exc. donnera ordre que la lettre qu'il luy plaira m'envoyer soit donné à Calais au logis de la poste à Balthasar Gerbier. Et sy tost que j'auray responsse, je m'en iray, et ne tarderay pas un jour à Paris.

S'il semble à vos. Exc. que les lettres que j'ay pour le petit homme et pour Ro. soient trop vieilles, il en faudroit avoir des aultres; ou, sy elles servent assez, je diray que j'ay esté malade à Paris.

Je donneray sy bon adresse en la mesmoire que je laisse entre les mains des embassadeurs que vos. Ex. verra où sont tout les tableaux. Mais sur la fin, Monseig^r, suppliez à Madame qu'elle veuille bien garnir Jorck hous. Car ce Mons^r de Chev-

and all the folks here, are so fine, and so magnificent, and curious in their houses, that your Excellency will be much pleased. I beg your Excellency to see the apartments of this Bishop of Paris, and you will see in what nice order the pictures are arranged, and how rich every thing is. And, for the love of Paul Veronese, be pleased to dress the walls of the gallery : poor blank walls, they will die of cold this winter ! Your Excellency will see also here, as at the house of the Duke of Chevreuse, the best paintings are before the chimney ; and approve what I have always said, that they always put the principal piece over the chimney. For all their bravery, there is still magnificence in gold. But your Excellency will see a great mistake they make in the construction of their chimneys. These are all made of wood, which is very im-

reuse, et tout ces jens issy, sont sy braves et sy dorez et sy curieux en leurs maysons que vos. Exc. se contentera beaucoup. Je supplie que vos. Exc. voye les chambres de cést Esvecque de Paris, et icelle voira en quel bel ordre les tableaux sont acommodéz & comment tout est riche. Et pour la mor* de Paulo Veronnese, qu'il plaise à vos. Exc. d'abiller les murailles de la gallerie : povres murailles blanches, elles moureront de froid cést hiver ! Vostre Exc. voiera issy comme chez le Duc de Chevreuse les meilleurs tableaux sont devint la cheminée ; et aprouvera ce que j'ay tousjours dict, que l'on mait tousjours la principale piessse sur la cheminée. Pour toute leur braverie, ils ja de la magnificence assez en or. Mais vos. Ex. voira une grande fautte qu'ils font au parament de leurs cheminées.

* *i. e.* Et pour l'amour (?)

proper so near the fire : they are also too deep ; all the heat remains within.

Moreover, there are paintings of the French masters. But we have the pearls of the Italians.

I pray God, my lord, that he will finish the work of this holy marriage so well advanced, which promises to be a rampart to sustain your prosperity ; and that in health, long life, you may enjoy the sight of your blessed plans, which will make Christendom happy. And that it will please your Grace, in the midst of so many millions of your servants, to do me the favor to allow me to be ranked as one, and that I may have the freedom to subscribe myself,

Your Excellency's

Very faithful servant until death,

B. GERBIER.

Boulogne, 17th Nov. 1624.

Elles sont toutes de bois, cela est bien mal à propos auprès du feu ; elles sont aussi trop profondes ; toute la chaleur demeure dedans.

Sur toutes il y a des tableaux de maîtres François. Mais c'est nous qui avons les perles des Italiens.

Je prie à Dieu, Monseigneur, qu'il finisse l'oeuvre de ce saint mariage si bien avancé auquel promet un rempart de soutien à vos. prospérité, et qu'en santé, longue vie, jouir de la vue de vos bienheureux desseins, qui rendront la Chrétienté heureuse. Et qu'il plaise à votre Grace, au milieu de tant de millions de vos serviteurs, me faire ce bonheur que je puisse tenir rang, et qu'avec franchise je me puisse nommer

De vos. Excel. le très fidèle serviteur jusqu'à la mort,
De Boulogne, ce 17 de Novemb. 1624.

B. GERBIER.

I had forgotten to say that the financier is not of the number of these gallants who are in prison.

If the weather here were fine, I might perhaps cross over to have a prompt answer; but I hope your Excellency will not forget to write, for all that.

These people in the affairs that I have written of, failing on your side, will perhaps try the Queen mother: this makes it necessary to have an answer.

I have sent the picture of Titian by the Gentleman servant of Mons^r de Fiat.

J'ay oublié de dire que ce financier n'est pas du nombre de ces gallans lesquels sont en prison.

Sy le temps ce m'estoit au beau, je pourois bien passer pour aveoir prompte responsse, mais j'espere que vos. Exc. n'oubliera pas d'escripre pour tout cela.

Ces jens de l'afaire que j'ay escript faillant de vos. cotté pourront faire essay de la Royne mere, voila pourquoy il faudroit response.

J'ay envoyé le tableau de Titian par le Gentilhomme servant de Mons^r de Fiat.*

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 392.

CONWEY TO BUCKINGHAM.

[Proceedings against Middlesex and Bristol.]

GRACIOUS PATRON,

FEAR to trouble you, and hope to serve you here, as duties do suspend my duty of attending you in this absence, makes it seem long as being heavy to bear.

Mr. Chancellor* hath acquainted his Highness, or myself, with all that he hath endeavored concerning the Earl of Middlesex; between whom and your Grace his faith and affection admits no comparison. Yet finding that his agency may be misjudged by such lookers-on as collect by effects, though, by the sense of his own integrity, he be confident of your Grace's good construction, yet he would gladly be drawn off by your Grace's good pleasure and favor from this trust and employment, which he undertook with your Grace's consent.

And humbly I present my opinion, my belief witnessing that his heart is upright to you, it were better his sufficiency, good fashion, and natural earnestness were reserved for the public or your important service, and not let go to assist and serve their turns whose prosperity they themselves seek not by you, nor will employ for you.

* Bishop Williams.

The Earl of Bristol's interrogatories are preparing; but, besides the slow pace they go, the King, I hope, hath satisfied your Grace that they shall attend your presence with your ease and conveniency. The venom of the Spanish party, I trust, is past. The list of the colonels and captains I send you herewith. The fifth regiment hath cost strife and industry, but was taken [for] the best remedy, but that lord hath quit it.

As men thrash hens at Shrovetide, I do your business; and if I displease you not much, I am bound to your favorable interpretation and my good fortune, for never strong faith and affection was more in the dark for want of directions.

His Majesty hath propounded to himself a good way, I hope, for his entire satisfaction, without speaking himself with the friar, or presenting him; whereof the account shall be given you when the letter is written to Sir Walter Aston, and approved by his Majesty, which I will first show to the Prince.

There now riseth a question between Oxford and Southampton for precedency. Upon this distinction Oxford would have given place (if the regiments had been joined) as to the elder soldier; but, going divided equally, he will not give away his birthright.

Upon unkindness between Oxford and Sir

John Wentworth, he protests against having him in his regiment, and the rest do so too; these two points are to be decided by the Prince. Another exception is alleged against Sir John Wentworth for his religion.

I hope this morning will put an end to the business with the East India merchants for the monies to be disposed to Mr. Oliver for the Navy.

Gracious Patron, forgive me that I have not put so soon end to your trouble as I meant; of your goodness, pass by my defects, and see in me only that I am

Your Grace's most humble servant,

EDW. CONWEY.*

Greenwich, 14th of June 1624.

VILLIERS HOLMAN TO THE CARDINAL RICHELIEU.

MY LORD,

I FEEL myself obliged to tell you what I learn from the mouths and from the letters of some well-informed English, and also by my conjectures, that the difficulties that are on this side

MONSEIGNEUR,

JE me sens obligé de vous dire ce que j'appren par les voix & par les lettres de quelques Anglois bien sensez, et encores par ma conjecture, que les difficultez que l'on fait dedeça pour-

* Orig. Tan. lxxiii. 356, 381.

thrown in the way may either retard or break up altogether the good design of this marriage; for they maintain, and it is true, that the Kings of England have not an authority so absolute that they can revoke the laws and statutes made and authorised by the Parliament, who are the three estates of the realm; which laws they hold for fundamental. However, the Kings may, in the execution of these, in some degree relax the rigour; and thus the present King insisted at the dismissal of the last meeting of Parliament. They say besides, that never in any similar treaty of marriage between Princes of different religions was more demanded than liberty of the person, house, and domestics; as, among other instances, it appears by an article expressly touching that which was projected between the late Duke of Anjou and Alençon, and the late Queen

roient ou reculer ou rumpre tout à fait le bon dessein de ce mariage; car ils soustienent, et est vray, que les Rois d'Angleterre n'ont pas une autorité si absolue qu'ils puissent revocquer les loix & les statuts faits & autorisez par le Parlement, qui sont les trois estats du royaume, lesq^{les} loix ils tiennent pour fondamentales. Bien peuvent les Rois en l'exécution d'icelles se relascher aucunement de la rigueur, et ainsi la stipulé d'eux le Roy d'à present au licenciement de ceste dernière assemblée dud^e Parlement. Disent en outre que jamais en traitez semblables de mariage entre Princes de différente religion on n'a demandé autre liberté que pour la persone, maison & domestiques, come entre autres il apprit par article deprés de celui qui fut projectté entre feu M. le Duc d'Anjou & d'Alençon et la

Elizabeth of England ; and after, by a several and secret article between M. le Duc de Bar, last Duke of Lorraine, and the late Madame, sister of the deceased King ; and also by others, which can be produced if need be. That to demand more, is not only to seek an impossibility, but also to impose a law upon a King ; and that in a similar case, any who required more than what his most Christian Majesty has granted to his Protestant subjects, would offend him by it, and his services be dispensed with. That although there were clauses and conditions on the subject of religion, written as is said by the King of England, and attached to the dispensation of the Pope last deceased ; yet that the present one (better informed by Padre Maestro, who went express to Rome last year,) had prudently withdrawn himself from it, seeing

feue Royne Elizabeth d'Angleterre, et depuis par article a part & secret entre M. le Duc de Bar dernier Duc de Lorraine & feue Madame sœur du Roy defunt, et encore par autres que l'on pourra produire si besoin est. Que demander davantage c'est non seulement vouloir l'impossible, mais aussi imposer loy à un souverain, et que en cas pareil qui requerroit davantage que ce que S. M. Tres-Chrestienne a accordé à ses subjets de la religion l'offenseroit et en seroit esconduit. Que bien qu'il y ait eu clauses & conditions au fait de la religion conscrivez come on dit par le Roy d'Angleterre & attachées à la dispense du Pape dernier decedé, toutes fois que celuy d'aujourd'hui, mieux informé par Padre Maestro qui fut expres à Rome l'an passé, s'en estoit prudemment departi, voyant que le Prince de Galles

that the Prince of Wales would by no means hear of it. Besides, the Parliament of England has been since held that has revived the ancient laws against the Recusants, as they call them. Also that the said Prince was, as it were, detained in Spain, for whose liberty the King his father had (* * * * *) to give or engage the half of his kingdom. In the third place, that the said King might promise himself the entire restitution of the Palatinate, by the sole request and authority of the King of Spain with those who hold its fortresses and principal places; a thing that he cannot hope of the King of France, nor of any other Prince in Christendom. It is also to be considered that Don Carlos de Coloma, the Ambassador Extraordinary of Spain, is still in that court, who, with that of Brabant, continues his efforts and dili-

n'y vouloit aucunement entendre. Joint que le Parlem^t d'Angleterre a esté tenu depuis que a fait revivre les loix antienes contre les Recusans, ainsi qu'ils les appellent. D'ailleurs que le d^t Prince estoit come detenu en Espagne po^r la liberté duquel le Roy son pere eust, s'il crust pere, donner ou engager la moitié de son royaume. En troisieme lieu que led^t Roy se pouvoit promettre la restitution entiere du Palatinat par la seule priere et autorité du Roy d'Espagne vers ceux qui en tiennent les forteresses & places principales, chose qu'il ne peut esperer du Roy de France ne d'autre Prince en la Christienté. Est aussi à considerer que Dom Carlos de Coloma, Embassadeur Extraord^{re} d'Espagne, est encores en ceste Court là, lequel avec celuy de Brabant y continue ses efforts & diligences à fin, s'il

gence there, in order, if it be possible, to form a connexion with the said King, making underhandedly plausible offers for the said restitution of the Palatinate ; and they are expecting there, for the same purpose, Don Hurtado de Mendoza, whom the King of Spain sends to reside there in the place of the said Coloma ; whilst, by their correspondence on this side, they set in motion the same springs to traverse the said treaty, relying on the facility of the said King to be able to reimpres him with that opinion of the Spanish character, which the Prince his son and the Duke of Buckingham have not yet been able entirely to efface. But the worst for the Catholics would be, if he were to accept the offer made to him by some of the principal men of the last Parliament,—that is, to furnish him from his subjects with as much as France would give in dowry to Madame the sister of the King,—pro-

est possible, de renouer avec led^t Roy, faisans sous mains des offres plausibles de lad^{te} restitution du Palatinat, et y attendent encor au mesme effet Don Hurtado de Mendoza que le Roy d'Espagne y envoie resider au lieu dud^t Coloma, pendant que par leurs correspondans dedeça ils font jouer les mesmes resorts pour traverser lad^e traité, se promettans de la facilité dud^t Roy de luy pouvoir rimprimer le caractere Espagnol que le Prince son fils & le Duc de Buckingham ne luy ont encore sçeu bonement effacer. Mais le pis pour les Catholiques seroit s'il acceptoit les offres que luy ont fait faire aucuns des principaux du dernier Parlem^t, qui est de luy fournir par ses sujets autant que la France voudra donner en dot à Madame sœur du Roy,

vided that the said Prince marry a Princess of his own religion, to the end, say they, that he may liberate himself from these importunities of Rome and bind himself with the Protestant party in a more strict and more confidential alliance,—the whole to the exclusion of the Catholics, and by this means to avoid all factions and divisions in their state; besides, that by such a confederation with Denmark, Sweden, Holland, the Hanseatic Towns, and other Protestant Princes and States, their King would imperceptibly find himself the most powerful prince of his party in Europe, as well for defence as for any enterprise against others.

That the recovery of the Palatinate is not so important to them, nor have they it so much at heart, as the preservation of their religion and their state. And that, in any event, the King of

pourvu que led^t Prince espouse une Princesse de sa religion, à fin, disent-ils, de se liberer de ces importunités de Rome, et destreindre avec le party Protestant une alliance et plus estroite et plus confidente, le tout à l'exclusion entiere des Catholiques, & par ce moyen eviter toutes factions & divisions en leur estat; outre que par une telle confederation avec Danemarck, Suede, Hollande, Villes Anseatiques, et autres Princes & Estats Protestants, leur Roy se trouveroit insensiblement le plus puissant Prince de son party en l'Europe, tant pour se garantir que pour entreprendre sur autrui.

Que le recouvrement du Palatinat ne leur est si important, ni si à cœur, que la conservation de leur religion et de leur estat. Et qu'en tout evenement le Roy de la G. Bretagne a

Great Britain has plenty of lands and countries whence to give part and appanage to the children of his daughter, waiting for the said recovery ; for the rest, not recognising any difference between the French Mass and that of Spain, nor between the Spanish Jesuit and the French, save that the last has this advantage, of having but a three hours' voyage to pass and repass to England. So too they hold it a mistake to think that the Jesuits of England or France wish more for the marriage with France than with Spain, as the said Jesuits have sufficiently testified by their letters and their discourses since the rupture of the treaty with Spain. The same it is with the Benedictines of England, brought up and instructed for the most part in the schools and seminaries of Spain and Flanders ; who, to render odious and fruitless our negociation with

assez de terres & pais pour y doner part & appanage aux enfans de sa fille, attendant led^t recouvrement : ne recognoissant au reste aucune difference entre la Meste de France & celle d'Espagne, ni entre le Jesuite Espagnol & le François, sinon que le dernier a cest avantage de n'avoir que trois heures de trajet pour passer & repasser en Angleterre. Aussi tiennent-ils pour erreur de croire que les Jesuites Anglois ou François souhaitent plus le mariage avec la France qu'avec l'Espagne, come lesd^{ts} Jesuites l'ont asses tesmoigné par leurs lettres & par leurs discours depuis la rupture du traité avec l'Espagne. Le mesme est-il des Benedictins Anglois, nourris & instruits pour la plus-part es escholes & seminaires d'Espagne & de Flandre, lesquels pour rendre odieuse & infructieuse nostre negociation avec

England, publish falsely that persecution has there recommenced against the Catholics : add, that it can be said with truth, that in England, Germany, and the Low Countries, whoever is Catholic by profession is a Jesuit in feeling and a Spaniard in his inclinations ; so that they are all so many servants and creatures of Spain, and enemies that France will have in England and in all that climate. It remains then, my lord, to consider of the utility or inutility of this treaty for France in the present state of Christendom, and of the prodigious progress that the Spaniards have been making around us for some years past, and their refusal to execute the treaty of Madrid and to restore the Valteline to its primitive state ; bearing in mind the displeasure that we had at seeing the Prince of Wales pass into Spain, and the gratification that we

l'Angleterre, publient faussement que la persecution y est recommencée contre les Catholiques. Joint qu'il se peut dire avec verité que soit en Angleterre, Allemagne, ou Pais Bas, quiconque est Catholique de profession est Jesuite d'affection et Espagnol d'inclination ; tellement que ce sont autant de serviteurs & creatures pour l'Espagnol et d'enemis que la France aura en Angleterre et en tout ce climat là. Reste donc, Monseigneur, à considerer de l'utilité ou inutilité de ce traité pour la France en l'estat present de la Chrestienté & du progrez prodigieux qu'ont fait les Espagnols autour de nous depuis plus d'années et du refus qu'ils font d'executer le traité de Madrid & remettre la Valteline au premier estat ; nous ressouvenans du desplaisir que nous eusmes de voir passer le Prince de Galles

have since had at seeing him return without doing any thing, so that we may not twice stumble at the same stone.

21st July 1624.

GERBIER TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY LORD,

BEING arrived at Gravesend, I have seen and spoken with Mons^r de Fiat the Ambassador, and have had a pretty long conversation with him concerning our affairs; I say our, because your Excellency's satisfaction makes me imagine myself a

en Espagne, & du contentement que nous avons eu depuis de le voir revenir sans rien faire, à fin que ne choppions deux fois à une mesme pierre.*

21 Juillet 1624.

Endorsed—"Copie de lettre du Sieur de Villiers Holman à M^{rs} les Cardin. de Richelieu, Garde des Sceaux, & la Vieuville."

MONSEIGNEUR,

ARIVANT à Gravesande, j'ay veu et parlé à Mons. de Fiat l'Embassadeur, et ay eu assez long discours avecques luy touchant nos affaires; je dis nos, parce que le contentement d'icelle me faict imaginer que j'ay part. Il m'a donné grande

* Tan. lxxiii. 377.

party. He gave me great hopes, entreating me to return, unless going on some other business; but I did not think that a good prescription, for we must make haste. He wished to manage the matters by time alone, and the whole must fall into your hands; that the King of France (when your Excellency shall be at Paris), and all the others, will give all that they have of them; but, as your Excellency knows, this is too far off, for often one hunts the deer and another eats the venison. I believe that it will be necessary, when Mons^r de Fiat is at Newmarket, to tell him not to mention the pieces about which I spoke to him. From what I have remarked, I think that he wishes to talk about them to Mons^r de la Villocclair; for Mons^r de Fiat has said, that within four or five days he will write

esperance, me conjurant de retourner sy je n'alois pour aultre affaire; mais je ne trouvois ce remedde là bon, car il se faut hatter. Il desiroit les manier seul avecque temps, et qu'il falloit que tout cela tombat entre vos mains; que le Roy de France, lors que vos. Exc. sera à Paris, et tout les aultres, donneront tout ce qu'ils en ont; mais, comme vos. Exc. sçait, sela tire trop long, car souvent l'on chasse la venaison, et un aultre en mange. Je croy qu'il sera nessesaire, lors que Mons^r de Fiat sera à Nieuvomarket, de luy dire qu'il ne parle pas des piesses que je luy ay parlé; à ce que j'ay remarqué, je croy qu'il en veust comuniquer à Mons^r de la Villocclair, car Mons^r de Fiat m'a dict que pendant quatre ou cinq jours qu'il m'escrivera. Il

to me. He was very importunate to know the business about which they had spoken with me, and who the man was; saying to me, Tell us, and we will take care that you shall succeed in the object of your voyage. I would rather that they did to me what the Spanish devils did to my father, than that I should be the cause of sorrow to any person. He said to me, Without doubt, it is some financier: but I told him I did not know; that all I knew was, the mere offer which I had represented to your Excellency, and which your Excellency took in bad part; and that your Excellency had replied to me, that you did not desire any other favor but to purchase with your own money, without wishing to trespass on the liberality of a Prince so just.

m'a fort importuné pour sçaveoir quelle estoit l'affaire que l'on m'avoit parlé, et quelle estoit l'homme, me disant, Dittes, et nous ferons que vous gagnerez bien vostre voyage. J'aimerois mieu que l'on me fist ce que les diables d'Espagnols firent à mon pere, que je serois cause de l'affliction d'auqune personne. Il me dit, Sens doute, c'est quelque finansier; mais je luy respondia que je ne savois, seulement que je ne cognoissois que la simple offre laquelle j'avois representée à vostre Exc. laquelle vos. Exc. prist en mauvaise part, et qu'icelle m'avoit respondu, que vous ne desiriez aultre faveur que d'achepter de vostre argent propre, sens vouloir tenter sur les faveurs liberalles d'un Prince sy Juste.*

* He alludes to the appellation given to Louis XIII.—*the Just*.

I shall wait at Paris in pious expectation that Mons^r de Fiat will write, and I will not fail nevertheless to do my best. It is true, according to Mons^r de Fiat, that all seems very likely to fall into our hands, and that haste would add nothing save the fear of the man your Excellency knows of.

Mons^r de Fiat tells me he thinks of going to Rome; it would not be amiss to make a trial of his assistance; if he only does something for the present, I shall be like the Catholics, who believe in a saint when they see a miracle.

I dare not detain your Excellency longer in perusing this; but will only say, I have made a model for the somters, which I have given to M. Olivier that he may send it to your Excellency.

I believe there is velvet enough to be had in

J'attenderay à Paris en bonne devotion sy Mons^r de Fiat escrivera, et ne failliray pour tout cela de faire mon mieux; il est vray, comme dit Mons^r de Fiat, que tout cela nous dût tomber entre les mains, et que le hatter n'y ajouteroit rien sinon la crainte de c'est homme que vos. Exc. sçait.

Mons^r de Fiat m'a dict qu'il pense aller à Rome, il ne seroit pas mauvais de faire essay de son assistance; s'il faict seulement quelque chose pour le present, je ressembleray les Catoliques, lesquels croient en un saint, quand ils voient un miracle.

Je n'oserois tenir vos. Exc. plus long-temps en lecture, seulement diray que j'ay faict faire un patron pour les somters, (?) lequel j'ay donné à M^r Olivier affin qu'il l'envoye à vos. Exc.

Je croy que l'on trouvera du velours assez à Londres, et ay

London, and I have taken the size of the apartment; it will contain twelve somters, each of which will have seventeen ells of velvet. I have found so many things to employ me at York House that I could hardly get out of it, and before my departure they commenced paving the grand chamber. I have also given orders to make the model for Newhall, and the carpenter will show it to your Excellency as soon as it is done. I pray God, my lord, that all that I do may succeed to your contentment.

The surveyor Inigo Jones has been at York House to see the house, and he was like one surprised and abashed. It would only require me to get the reversion of his place to be an eye-sore to him, for he is very jealous of it. He almost threw himself on his knees for your Secretary of Titian, which I beg your Excellency

mesuré la chambre ; elle contiendra douse somters, chacun d'iceux aura dixsept aulnes de velours. J'ay trouvé tant de soins et de choses à m'employer à Jork hous qu'à peynne en pouvois je sortir, et avant ma despartie l'on a commencé à paver la grande chambre. J'ay aussy donné ordre pour faire la modelle pour Nieuwhalle, (?) et le charpentier la montrera à vos. Exc. sy tost qu'elle sera faite. Je prie à Dieu, Mons^r, que tout ce que je fasse reussise à vos. contentement.

Le surveyor Enigo Jons a esté à Jorck hous pour veoir la mayson, et estoit comme confus et honteux. Il ne me faudroit plus que la revertion de sa plasse, pour luy faire aveoir la gravelle, car il en est fort jaloux. Il s'est presque mis à genoux pour vostre Secretaire de Titian, que je supplie à vos. Exc. de

to examine a little more leisurely. May God enrich us with others as good, and grant me the happiness of being the bearer of them; and permit me always to remain in the happy condition of being allowed to call myself,

My Lord, your Excellency's
Very humble and very faithful servant,
B. GERBIER.

Gravesend, 2nd Dec. 1624.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO KING JAMES.

[Upon certain sums to be given for honors at court.]

DERE DAD AND GOSSOPE,

WATT STEWARD hath bine withe me this morning to tell me your Majesty was well inclined to make Sir Francis Vaine an Erle for hime.* I answered, that I could hardlie beleue it, but if he would be contented that Sir Frances Stward

bien regarder un peu plus à loisir. Dieu nous veuille enrichir d'autres aussy bonnes; et me fasse ce bonheur d'en rapporter, et demeurer tousjours sous ce bien heureux estate, que je me puisse nommer tousjours d'estre,

Monseigneur, de vos. Exc.

Le tres humble et tres fidelle serviteur,

B. GERBIER.

De Gravesande, ce 2 Dec. 1624.

* Sir Fr. Vane made Earl of Westmoreland, Dec. 1624.

might share with him, I would be a suter to your Majesty for them in that for the present, and hereafter, as occation would serue, for something else; but with this condition, that he would perswade my Lord Hauton to giue fīue or six thousand to be another, which monie I tould him I desired to make use of my self. Upon this he fell upon another sute he hath had to your Majesty, of being a groume in your bedchamber, of which he sayeth he hath had a promis from you. I answered in this, he must giue me leaue absolutelie to thinke otherwise; whereupon he asked me if it were trew, whether I would not be contented with it. I tould him playnelie, as I oft-times haue before, I thought him not fitt for it, neyther would I promis him anie assistance in it. My resons I shall giue your Majesty when I shall haue the hapines to kis your hands. Thus much I thought fitt in the meane time to acquaint you with. So I craue your blissing as

Your most humble slaue and doge,

STINIE.

Euen as I was seleing of this, Kate and I re-seued another present from you, for which wee giue you our humble thanks. Your presents are so greate, wee can not eate them so fast as the[y] come.*

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 403.

CONWEY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Arrival and reception of the French Ambassador Villeaux Clercs.]

GRACIOUS PATRON,

WHEN I came yesterday to this town, Mons. Villeaux Clercs was not then arrived. I met therefore with the colonels, who, upon the first remonstrance, saw their own errors; took satisfaction; only gave some few requests, which are proper enough to be mediated for them according to their use and necessity, as far as the wisdom of the Lords and former precedents shall warrant. Their best satisfaction I will endeavour, for which the Council meets this afternoon.

Yesterday, about three o'clock, the ambassador arrived. About five I went to him, and delivered him his Majesty's welcome to this town, the contentment his Majesty received to hear of his safe landing, the joy his Majesty had in the cause of his employment, which was enlarged by the acceptance of his person, who, by many singular good offices in this so near and dear a negociation had continued a declaration of that successive affection which had formerly been imparted by his predecessors and family to the house and person of his Majesty. Either this did create a lively apprehension, or he formed and acted exceeding readily a passionate joy for the honor done him

by his Majesty, which he acknowledged with as zealous and affectionate expressions as was possible, with as humble demonstrations in his person, and as hearty and humble terms as could be delivered. And he is furnished to speak himself, and inform another, as lively and effectually as any man I have met with. And, to confirm the words the more, he gave more respect to my person than it could be worthy of, even as it was honored with the employment; but that he would seem to show and see the spirit of his Majesty in that particular and timely honor and favor done to him.

My Lord Chamberlain being not certain to be found, I desired, by a letter to him, the assignment of an hour and a place where I might attend him. This morning, at nine o'clock, I waited on him at Whitehall, where I met him with my Lord Steward and my Lord Marshal; and they then deliberated with Sir Lewis Lewkenor* touching the journey of the ambassadors, which, for the greatness of the train and number of clothes, could not begin before Tuesday; so as they made account on Thursday the ambassadors should be at Cambridge. And, for congruity, they wished that his Majesty would be pleased to be there on Wednesday; and so the ambassadors come to him, and he not come to them. Divers household considerations were

* Master of the Ceremonies.

likewise thought on, as the division of provisions and the attending ministers. And, as I conceived by their discourse, they understood the ambassadors thought of staying there ten days. I told them my collection from the ambassador was, that they would make much more haste. I desired, in your Grace's name, my Lord Chamberlain's advice what from the King, what from your particular, might be done of honor to the ambassador, and that with best lustre. To this he said, the place must be Cambridge, Newmarket being able to bear nothing of grace; that, on the King's part, the general entertainment would be as good as is possible; that the King gave them one meal at his own table; and that his Majesty must be pleased to send to my Lord of Suffolk to lend furniture of two lodgings for the ambassadors, with drawing-rooms and a dining-room; and likewise to give order, as most proper to his authority, for all that can be added by the University. For your particular, he thought it most convenient for you to present him with horses, except you would exceed further with any other kind of present. He thought it might be convenient for you to treat them [with] one meal, which he thought would be more proper and convenient for you to do at Cambridge than here.

For the present to be given to the ambassador, my Lord Chamberlain can think of none so fit as Sir John Eyre's diamond, esteemed at £3000,

richly worth £2000, at which rate the King may have it, and is about the value he thinks fit to be given.

This day I visited the Marquis d'Effiat, and showed him the confidence your Grace had in him, by your freedom to counsel with him in what, or how, honor might be done to Mons. Villeaux Clerc, or what particular you might do to make out your own † * * * intentions to honor and serve him. [The Marquis] expressed much contentment in this inwar[d] * * * affection; protested that his respect to you, and confidence in you, deserved it, and should deserve it by clear faith to you; but seemed to be sorry that you asked him his advice in things already done, (and to show his clearness, he made a relation of all that had been done,) which although, he said, had been so fully as had satisfied all that could be expected, yet he observed some escapes, errors, or neglects, which had been well excused,—would take up time to relate, and therefore I spare them until I wait on you. But he protested, in all that was noble and excessive, out of many collections your hand was seen in every part. And he could not satisfy himself to express the honor, satisfaction, and contentment Mons. Villeaux Clercs took for the express honor his Majesty had done to him by sending of me to

† Torn off.

perform him the office I did just at his arrival. Insomuch, as he protested, Villeaux Clercs found himself so overladen with the honors done him, as he desires to discharge the guards and train of officers as marks of more greatness than he was capable of. So as, in conclusion, the Marquis could not devise what to do more, where all, and more than enough, was done.

But this I did gather from him, that they did expect a ball, or masquerade, before the King, or privately with you. That they did expect (to use his own word) a blue ribbon to bid them welcome to Cambridge: and, groping as well as I could at the time and manner of disposing it there, I collect that they hope to find the King at Cambridge on Thursday night; on Friday to have a public audience; the same day, or Saturday, to have a private access to the King; to have a day with you, and then to fashion and put in order the work and acts as they must be done; a day between, and then an audience for a farewell.

I did forget, in its due place, to tell your Grace that the Lord Steward, Lord Marshal, and Lord Chamberlain debated concerning their visiting of the ambassador before audience; and finding no precedents, unwilling to bring up new fashions, they concluded in the negative.

I send this by an express, that he may return with your pleasure if any thing be to be com-

manded, if it should be nothing else but to command me not to write so long letters. Your Grace may be pleased to pardon this, so as not to think me the less worthy to be

Your Grace's most humble servant,

EDW. CONWEY.*

London, Dec. 4, 1624.

SIR WALTER ASTON TO THE DUKE.

[Dispute between Olivares and Gondomar.]

ON the 16th of this month *st. vet.* the Conde of Gondomar, being set in council, had order notified unto him by the Sec. Don Andres de Prada to put himself upon the way for England on the Thursday following. The day after the Conde had received this command, he wrote a letter unto Don Fernando Giron, entreating him that he would move the Conde of Olivares to excuse him altogether of the journey, for divers reasons which he expressed in his letter. The Conde of Olivares seemed to take this extremely ill, the Conde of Gondomar having before accepted of the employment; and the storm is at the height betwixt them, that they speak not to one another. Don Pedro de Toledo and Don Fernando Giron have performed to and fro divers diligences betwixt them, but what will be the

* Orig. Tan. lxxiii. 397.

issue, I know not: divers of the Conde of Gondomar's friends tell me that he desires to excuse himself of the journey; the Conde of Olivares having offered him a meaner despatch than he thought fit for the giving his Majesty satisfaction, and that by this means he hopes to get ample instructions concerning the business of the Palatinate. Those that are inward with the Conde of Olivares tell me that no excuse shall serve the Conde of Gondomar, but it is resolved he shall go: what the mystery is I dare not give my judgment of, only I have thought fit to advertise your honor what passes at present; as I shall likewise be careful to let you understand what follows.† * * *

Madrid, 24 of X^r 1624.

GERBIER TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

* * * SOMETIMES when I am contemplating the treasure of rarities which your Excellency has in so short a time amassed, I cannot but feel astonishment in the midst of my joy. For out of all

* * * QUAND je contemple auqune fois le tresor de rareté que vos. Exc. a amassé en sy peu de temps, je ne me puis quē estonner au milieu de la joye. Car de tout les ama-

† Harl. 1580. p. 60.

the amateurs, and Princes and Kings, there is not one who has collected in forty years as many pictures as your Excellency has collected in five. Let enemies and people ignorant of paintings say what they will, they cannot deny that pictures are noble ornaments, a delightful amusement, and histories that one may read without fatigue, which neither eat beef, nor drink greedily, nor feed on oats (as this horse that Mr. Graymes has given me will do, and for which therefore I take the liberty of begging your Excellency that I may have an allowance of oats). Our pictures, if they were to be sold a century after our death, would sell for good cash, and for three times more than they have cost. I wish I could only live a century, if they were sold, in order to be able to laugh at those facetious folk who say, It

teurs, Princes et Roys, il n'y en a pas un quy aye amassé en quarante ans autant que vos. Ex. a amassé de tableaux en cinq ans. Que les ennemis et ignorants de tableaux disent ce qu'ils veulent, sy ne pourront ils pas nier que les tableaux ne soient nobles ornements, recreatifs passes-temps, et histoires que l'on list sens pyne, quy ne mengent ny biff ny ne boivent sec,* ny ne mengent avoyne (comme fera le cheval que Mons^r Graymes m'a donné, pour lequel je prens la hardiesse de supplier à vos. Ex. d'aveoir une livrance d'avoyne). Nos tableaux, cent ans apres la mort, quand on les vousdroit vendre, ils vendront tousjours du bon argent, et plus trois fois qu'ils n'ont cousté. Je vousdrois seulement vivre cent ans pour, sy l'on vendoist, me pouveoir rire de ces badins quy disent, *It is*

* Vin sec—sack, canary?

is monny cast away for bobles and schadows. I know they will be pictures still, when those ignorants will be lesser than schadows. So much for them! But for Mons^r Douet, who like the cat is set to guard the milk, he is a nice man, only he is a joker: and one picture of Raphael's is a trifle, a treasure which the kings, his ancestors, always kept as a holy relic; but I am not content with that, more must be had; this is a good beginning for others.

I have been thinking, that if I am at Paris a fortnight or twelve days, or at soonest before your Excellency leaves London, it will be time enough; for then, knowing that your arrival is near, their minds will be on the watch, and they will begin to make preparations for receiving your Excellency, some with blandish-

monny cast away for bobles and schadows. I know they will be pictures still, when those ignorants will be lesser than schadows; voila pour eux! Mais, pour Mons^r Douet, quy comme le chat est fait gardien du lait, c'est un brave homme, seulement une joconde; et un tableau de Raphael c'est peu de chose, un tresor que les Rois ses ancestres ont tousjours gardé comme sainte relique, mais je ne suis pas content de cela, il en faut aveoir davantage, c'est un bon commencement aux aultres.

J'ay consideré que quand je seray à Paris quinse ou douze jours, ou d'au plus tost avant que v. Exc. partte de Londres que sera temps assez, car alors eux sachant que vos. venue sera prochaine, leurs esprits se reveilleront et comenceront à s'aprester à recevoir v. Exc. les uns par caresses, et autres par

ments, and others with presents. Then, in my opinion, it will be a fitter time to strike the iron while it is hot, and to fire the tow, than if I got there a long while beforehand. The unstable humour of the French grows weary of the presence it is accustomed to; but, as I say, arriving there with the news of your approaching visit, it will be, Oh, here he is returned! and then we shall see the gentry in ecstasy. And if it is only required to represent the attitude of Hercules holding a golden chain in his mouth, I shall play my part well; but we must proceed softly, and always keep hold of one end of the chain to draw still more souls out of Purgatory. I am vexed that I was prevented from delivering the letter to Mons^r Chevreuse, for I had a great notion it would have worked

presens. Alors je croy en mon opignon que sera le temps plus propre à battre le fer eschauffé, et mettre le feu aux etoupes, que sy je me trouvois là long-temps auparavant; d'une acoustumée presence l'instable humeur Françoisse s'en lasse, mais, comme je dits, arivant là avecque les nouvelles de vostre prochain voyage, ce sera, Ho, le voicy revenu! et alors l'on vera les Mons^{rs} aux boutades. Et s'yl ne manque qu'à représenter la posture d'Hercule quy tenoit une chaine d'or en bouche, je joueray bien mon personnage; mais il faut aller tout bellement, et tenir tousjours l'un bout de la chaine pour tirer encore aultres ames de Purgatoire. Je suis mary que j'ay esté interon pu à delivrer la lettre à Mons^r de Chevreuse, car j'avois grande opinion qu'elle eusse fait miracle, ce n'eust esté qu'une

a miracle ; it would only have been abundance of courtesy, for he knows just as well that your Excellency has got his picture. I wish I could meet with somebody going post to Paris, so that I might write and send news to my mountebank earlier than by the ordinary communication. For I should like him to detach a Saint Michael of Raphael's. I have written to him again to-day, but the ordinary couriers are so long on the road. I have given him promises, but this rogue must not be chained up till he has done some more mischief. I have written to him also about the horse and several other things. But I see I am almost at the end of my paper. To conclude : if your Excellency will only give me time to mine quietly, I will fill Newhall with paintings, so that foreigners will

abondance de courtoisie, car aussy bien sait-il que v. Ex. a son tableau. Je vousdrois pouvoir rencontrer quelq'un quy allat en poste à Paris pour pouveoir escrire et envoyer nouvelles à mon charlatan plustost que les messages ordinaires. Car je vousdrois bien qu'il me detaschat un St. Michel de Raphael. Je luy ay encore escript aujourdhuy, mais les messagers ordinaires sont long-temps en chemin. Je luy ay donné des promesses, mais il ne faut pas que ce laron soit enchainné avant qu'il aye faict plus de mal. Je luy ay escript aussy du cheval et de plusieurs aultres choses. Mais, à ce que je vois, je suis bien tost au bout de mon papier. Pour finir : de pintures, sy v. Exc. seulement me donne temps de miner tout doucement, je veux remplir Nieuwhal, que les etrangers i viendront en

come there in procession; but we must proceed very quietly. Tuesday the paving the cabinet with marble begins, which will be the grandest thing in the kingdom; but it will be at least three weeks before it is finished. I am very desirous of your presence; but I should be glad not to see you for three weeks, for we are whitening the ceilings, which had not been whitewashed before, so that we have got scaffolding everywhere. I should like all to be clean before your arrival, and that all should be done before I set out for France. I protest I could not sleep quietly, if I was in France, for thinking of my house. Madame has not given orders about the furniture of Persian cloth of gold, nor for matting the other apartments; that should be done in time, for new mats for a

prosession; mais il faut aller tout doucement. Ce Mardy on comence à paver le cabinet de marbre, quy sera la plus noble chose de ce royaume; mais sera bien trois semaines avant que soit finy. Je souhaite fort vos. presence, mais je vouldrois bien ne vous veoir en trois semaines, car nous blanchisons les voutes quy n'avoyent pas encore esté blanchies, tellement que nous avons des chaffaux par tout. Je vouldrois que tout fust nett avant vos. arrivée, et que tout fust faict avant que je m'en aille en France. Je proteste que je ne pouvois dormir à repos estant en France tousjours pensant en ma mayson. Madame n'a point donné ordre pour des cheres à la fourniture de toille d'or de Persse, ny pour matter les aultres chambres; cela devroit estre faict en temps, car les mattes neuves ont

month or two have an ill smell. Half of our Dutch mats are come. Mr. Crow will have the dress with pearl ornaments made at Boulogne; the patterns I send, the larger is not made to my fancy. My design was for the compartments to be small, and the flowers too; which might be changed in the working, and be made as small as one pleased. The one is for the inside, the other for the outside. There is the name of the Prince and of Madame, and the roses and lilies combined; that is for the inside of the mantle. This is only a little paper lost, and it is late too, and it would cost near twelve hundred pounds sterling. This will be some day for the wedding of a young Charles. I wish your Excellency would decide about the water at York House, for it is time; you must resolve to ex-

pour un mois ou deux une fortte senteur. La moitié de nos mattes de Hollande sont venues. Mr. Crow fera faire l'abit de perle à chausse à Boullon; les patrons que j'envoye, le plus grand n'a pas esté faict à ma fantasie. Mon dessain estoit que les compartements seroient petits, et aussy les fleurs; ce que l'on pouvoit changer à l'ouvrage, et le faire aussy petit que l'on veust. L'un c'est pour le dedens, et l'autre pour le dehors. Il y a le nom du Prince et de Madame, et les roses et les lis cogointes, sela est pour le dedans du manteau. Ce n'est q'un peu de papier perdu, car aussy bien est il tard, et cousteroit pres de douse cents livres sterlinx. Ce sera quelque jour pour les nopces d'un jeusne Charles. Je vouldrois que v. Exc. voulut resoudre pour de l'eau à Jorck hous, car il est temps;

pend four hundred pounds, and to do the whole with leaden pipes, not earthen ones, which are not so safe.

My Lord, with clasped hands, &c.

B. GERBIER.

8th Feb. 1624-1625.

SIR R. HEATH AND SIR T. COVENTRY TO THE
DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Proceedings against Lady Purbeck the Duke's sister, and Sir Robert Howard.]

MOST NOBLE LORD,

WE have, since our last letters to your Grace, attended the Lord Chief Justice several days for further examination of the business of your brother the Lord Purbeck, in which we have gained some good purpose more than before, to give satisfaction that the child was not begotten by the Lord Purbeck; so as the Lord Chief Justice

il faut s'y resoudre de dependre quatre cents livres, et de faire tout en pipes de plomb, et non en terre, cela n'est pas sy soeur.

Monseigneur, à mains jointes, &c.

B. GERBIER.*

Ce 8 Feb. 1624-1625.

* Orig. Tan. lxxiii.

and we do hold the purpose laid together to be strong for that point, and the suspicions to be violent and strong against Sir Robert Howard, though we cannot yet gain any express confession from parties, or testimony of witnesses, that can directly prove him guilty of the act of adultery with her. But, all being laid together, we hold the cause [as] ready and ripe for a proceeding in part, as we can probably expect; (the Ecclesiastical Court, if your Grace shall so direct;) and as much light gained for a proceeding.

Concerning the point of sorcery, we do not conceive the proof such that we can conclude any sorcery to be acted, either by Lambe or Frodesham, against your Grace or the Lord Purbeck; but that the Lady Purbeck did resort often to Lambe is most manifest, and we verily think with evil intention to your brother; and that Sir Robert Howard went often with her is equally clear, but that his intention was to have any sorcery used is not so plain; so as we think the use to be made of this part of the business will be rather to aggravate and make odious the other part of the offence, than to proceed upon it as a distinct crime of itself. Now, because nothing yet appears that should cause us to think the matter to be capital against any of the delinquents; and because there remain no

other to be examined, save only one woman who cannot yet be found; and because the offenders are by lawailable, and the Earl of Suffolk hath, since his message sent at first, written a round letter to the Lord Chief Justice, pressing the bailment of his son as beingailable by law; the Lord Chief Justice hath entered into consideration about bailing of him and some of the rest. But we have moved him to respite it until we might advertize your Grace; though, after a full examination of the cause, and as much brought to light as either in our own judgments, or by anything we can learn from those that follow the business, is like to be effected though they should be long kept close, we see no fruit of holding them in prison. And when their imprisonment is but fruitless, their bailment may give the world satisfaction. And so, praying your Grace's direction, we rest,

Your Grace's

Most humble and bounden servants,

THOMAS COVENTRYE.

RO. HEATH.*

Serjeants' Inn, 24th Feb. 1624.

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 414.

KING JAMES TO * * * *

My onlie sweete & deare chylde, notwithstanding of your desyring me not to wrytte yesterdaye, yett hadde I written in the euening if at my comming in out of the parke suche a drowzienes hadd not comed upon me as I was forced to sitte & sleep in my chaire halfe an howre; & yett I can not contente myselfe withowte sending you this pullet, praying God that I may haue a ioyefull & comfortable meeting with you, & that we maye mak at this Christenmasse a new mariage, euer to be kept hereafter; for God so loue me as I desyre onlie to liue in this worlde for youre saike, & that I hadde rather liue banished in anie pairt of the earth with you, then liue a sorrowefull widdowe's lyfe without you; & so God blesse you, my sweete chylde & wyfe, & grawnte that ye maye euer be a conforte to youre deere daide & husbände.

JAMES R.†

[1625.]

The King had written *Maister*, which seems to imply that this letter was written to the Duke.

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxii. p. 18.

CHEVREUSE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

SIR,

SINCE his Excellency the Ambassador has been pleased to do me the honor to allow me through him to tell you what my opinion is on the present occasion; after seeing what Bautru brings you, I shall speak to you the more freely from the security I have by this means. I will tell you this again, that it is true they have been greatly displeased here at the conversations that have passed, but are now removed by Blainville; and that if you decide to come, you will receive every satisfaction; and in case that you will not come at present, if you will send Mons^r le Conte d'Hollande you will see the proof by him, the proof of what

MONSIEUR,

PUIS que Monsieur l'Embassadeur m'a voullu fayre l'honneur que par luy ie vous dye ce quy est de mon sentymant sur l'occasion presente; appres avoir veu ce que vous porte Botru, je vous parleray issy plus libremant pour la seurreté que je prens en cette voye. Je vous diray donc encore qu'il est vray qu'ils ont issy eu grant displaysir des discours quy se sont passés soit par Blainville et dispersé; et que si vous vous resolues à venir, vous resseures toutte sorte de contentement, et au cas que vous ne voullies venir presentement, si vous envoyes Mons^r le Conte de Hollande, vous vesres la preuve par luy la preuve de ce que je vous dis estre tres verittable. Vous aures grant advantage

I say to be very true. You will have great advantage in sending a man who depends on you, and like him, in whom you have full confidence. Excuse the anxiety I show in this matter, which arises only from that which I feel, and shall always feel in your service, and from the interest I take in satisfying both crowns. I do not speak of the interest I have in it, because you will hear all the particulars from his Excellency the Ambassador, to whom I have trusted all on account of the honor he does me by his friendship. What I can say besides is, that, taking a good resolution, there never was a voyage so full of honor and glory as yours will be, nor more advantageous to the weal of Christendom. Remember to continue the good offices you have rendered to Mr. de Blainville, and allow me still

d'enuoyer vn homme quy despende de vous, et comme luy, et en quy vous ayies toute confiance. Escuses la passion que i'ay en cette affayre, quy n'est cosée que de celle quy j'ay et ore tousiours à vre. seruisse, et à l'interest que j'ay de la satisfaction de l'unne et l'autre couronne. Je ne vous parle point de l'interest que iy ay par ce que Monsieur l'Embassadeur (en quy ie me suis confis du tout pour l'honneur quy me fait de mer) vous en fera entendre toutes les particularités. Tout ce que je vous puis dire de plus est que prenant vne bonne resolution avecque luy, il n'y eut iamais vn voyage si plain d'honneur et de gloire qui sera le vostre, ny plus aduantageus pour le bien de la Cretienté. Souuenes vous de contynuer à Mr. de Blainuille les bons offisses que vous luy rendis, et me

to have the honor of your esteem, since I am,
with all my heart,

My Lord,
Your most obedient and very humble servant,
CHEVREUSE.

KING JAMES TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[Invitation to hunt at Harrison's Heath, &c.]

SWEETE HAIRTE,

QUHEN I made little Dicce wrytte my excuse
to thee yesterdaye, for not wrytting my selfe, I
was uerrie sikke of a greate fluxe that morning;
but now I thanke God I ame well, in spyte of
thee; & hauing chainged my purpose in resolu-
ing to staye heere tile Mondaye, so earnist I am
to kill more of Zouchis greate staigues, I sum-

conseruer l'honneur de uoz bonnes grasses, puis que je suis de
tout mon coeur,

Monsieur,

Vre. tres humble & tres obeissant serviteur,

CHEUREUSE.*

[1625.]

A Mons^r, Mons^r le Duc de Bouginham.

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxii. 34.

mone thee to come heere to morrowe, & lette Kate & Sue goe to Windsore, & meete me on Mondaye after noone at Harrieson's Heathe heathe with thaire bowis. Mi Lorde Percie is comde owte of France with bettir newis then before; oure sending to it hat made thaim more reasonable. Thaye are contentid now with a letre, & no mention of the holie eaungills in it. Thy letre did greate goode. How soone my sonne comes from Gilforde, I will sende thee the paper. I sende thee an excellent Barbarie melon; in goode faith, I hadde no mellons since thy pairting till yesternight. God bless thee and me!

JAMES R.*

GERBIER TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY LORD,

I SENT on Sunday last a letter to your Excellency, which should have been at Borlé on Monday evening; and in it there were two letters from Monsieur Chevreuse, his man waiting here to have your decision touching Monsieur Bautru,

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'AY envoyé Dimenche passé une lettre à vos. Exc. laquelle devoit estre à Borlé lundy au soir, et dens icelle y avoit deux lettres de Monsieur de Cheureuse, son homme attendant icy pour aueoir vos. resolution touchant Mons^r Beautru, qu'il devoit

* Harl. 6987. No. 105.

whom he was to go and see after at Calais; but the said Monsieur Bautru has made more haste than the courier, for he arrived last night secretly in London, and is dwelling at the Italian Hotel, where I have been to see him, and he very impatiently desires and hopes for the happiness of seeing you. The Duke of Chevreuse had sent another into Holland, who is also come back with Monsieur Bautru, who does not wish Monsieur Blainville to see him, unless your Excellency sees fit. I have sounded him a little, and learned thus much, that the King and the Queen Mother know and are parties to the subject of his journey, which was prepared and arranged for Holland, they thinking your Excellency would still be there, and having no business but with you. He related to me, that they say privately at the French court, that the Ambassador

aller querir à Calais; mais le dict Mons^r Beautru a faict plus de diligence que le courier, car il est arrivé secrettement hier au soir à Londres, et est logé à l'ordinaire Italien où je l'ay esté veoir, lequel tres impatient desire et aspire à l'heure de vous veoir. Mons^r le Duc de Cheureuse avoit envoyé un aultre en Hollande, lequel est aussy revenu avecque Mons^r Beautru, quy ne desire que Mons^r Blinuille le voye, sy vos. Ex. ne le trouve bon. Je l'ay un peu sondé, et ay appris jusques à la que le Roy et la Royne Mere sauent et ont part au subject de son voyage, quy estoit dressé et ordonné pour Hollande, eux croiant que vos. Exc. seroit encore là, n'ayant aultre affaire que synon vers vous: il m'a raconté comme l'on disoit à la court de France en secret, que l'Embassadeur quy est à la Haye avoyt faict un

who is at the Hague had made a communication to your Excellency on the part of the King, that tended to divert you from undertaking a journey you had resolved upon, and that your friends in France had been in great fear; as they would not, for any thing in the world, that you should come to a place where you would not be received as you merit. I said that if your good friends had known your resolution they might have been quite easy, that being in my opinion the last of your thoughts; and, indeed, that I believed, even if the King had occasion to send you thither in person, that you would have influence to persuade him to send somebody else who had more inclination.

Monsieur Bautru makes a show of great zeal in your service, and conjures you to believe the same of Mons^r Fiat. As for the Duke of Chev-

raport à vostre Exc. de la part du Roy quy tendoist à vous divertir de la resolution prise de faire un voyage, et que vos amis en France avoyent esté en grande crainte, ne desirant pour chose du monde que vous viendriez en un lieu où vous ne seriez receu selon vos merittes. Je luy dis que sy vos bons amis eussent cognu vostre resolution, ils eussent estez hors de peyne, car je croy que c'est la moindre pensée que vous aurrez jamais, et que mesme je croyois sy le Roy avoyt occasion d'y envoyer vos. personne que vous avez ce pouveoir de persuader d'en envoyer un aultre quy auroist plus d'envie.

Mons^r Beautru faict une apparence d'un grand zelle à vos. service, et vous conjure de croire le mesme de Mons^r de Fiat. Pour Mons^r le Duc de Cheureuse il n'en faut point parler, car

reuse, there is no need to speak of him, for he loves you from his inmost heart. Mons^r Bautru pretends greatly to hate, and expressly to blacken, Blainville and Mons^r Villeauxclercs; saying they give currency to a thousand reports, that even you are no longer on so good terms with the King. An evident sign, said I, of their folly and their malevolence. He said that Blainville writes a number of letters, but that he is laughed at in France.

Your wise foresight will find the true mark they are aiming at, and will know how to turn it to your advantage; and, inasmuch as Mons^r Bautru is very anxious to know when he is to see you, I have been forced to promise to send another messenger, (if your Excellency delayed

il vous ayme jusques dedens les entrailles. Mons^r Beautru faict semblant de fort hayr, et denigre expressement, Blinville* et Mons^r la Vill o' Clair, disant qu'il font courir mille raports que mesme vous n'estes plus sy bien avecque le Roy. Signe evident, je luy dict, de leur sottice et de leur malice. Il dict que Blinville escript quantitté d'epistres, mais que l'on s'en mocque en France.

Vostre sage prevoyance trouvera le vray but où ils vousdront tendre, et en sçaura bien faire son profit; et d'autant que Mons^r Beautru desire fort de sçaveoir quand c'est qu'il vous vera, il me luy a falu promesse d'expedier encore un aultre

* Blainville, Ambassador in England.

longer,) in order to let him know your will; so I thought it opportune to send back the bearer, that, if he finds your Excellency at Royston, you may settle your journey accordingly.

We have heard here that my Lady is not coming till after Christmas, and that my young Lord remains at Borlé till spring, which will be a good season for change of food. I had caused the apartments to be prepared, hoping my young Lord would have made his entry; but I see plainly that in pleasure I am always to be among the last. Nevertheless, I feel assured that nobody has precedence of him who enjoys your favor, and that I shall not be less in the good graces of this sweet hope your first-born son,

poste sy vos. Exc. tarderoit d'avantage, qu'il puisse sçaveoir vos. volonté, surquoy j'ay jugé n'estre hors de propos de renvoyer ce porteur; que s'il trouve vos. Exc. à Rostown,* icelle puisse gouverner sa journée selon.

Nous avons entendu icy que Madame ne vient point que appres Crismis, et que le petit Seigneur demeure à Borlé jusques au printemps, quy sera une sayson bonne pour changer de nourriture. J'avois faict acommoder les chambres, esperant que le petit Seigneur y eusse faict son entrée; mais je voy bien que je seray tousjours des derniers en la jouissance. Toutesfois je m'asseure que celuy quy est en vos bonnes graces, est comme à une table ronde; et que je ne seray moindre en celle de ceste

* Royston.

whom God endow with the talent, the disposition, and the fortune of his father, by whom I trust always to be esteemed for my services and obedience.

My Lord, &c. &c.

B. GERBIER.

Mr. Clarke was still, four days ago, as Mons^r Bautru says, at Boulogne, having waited at Dover so long for a passage.

GERBIER TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been informed that at the court where you are they have got intelligence of the dia-

douce esperance, vostre fils premier né, que Dieu douit l'esprit, le naturel, et la fortune du pere, duquel j'espere je seray tousjours estimé par mon seruisse et par mon obeissance.

Monseigneur, &c. &c.

B. GERBIER.

Monsieur Clarke estoit encore quatre jours passée, comme dict Mons^r Beautru, à Boulogne, aiant attendu à Douvre sy long-temps pour un passage.*

MONSEIGNEUR,

L'ON m'a adverty qu'à la court où vous estes ona eu intelligence des diamants que vos. Exc. faict mettre en des bagues ;

* Tan. lxxiii. 420.

monds your Excellency is causing to be set in rings, and so they are trying to guess what can be your reason. The greater part think it is in order to make presents, which they are all resolved not to receive. Your Excellency's perfect sagacity needs no interpreter for understanding their policy, which is only that somebody has been such an exceeding busybody as to blow in the ear of the Duke of Chevreuse that if your Excellency were to be remarked above others for liberality, it would be greatly to his detriment. I note now that it was not without a reason that the Secretary of the Duke of Chevreuse, while at Paris, importuned me so much to have an account of what was given to his household servants, and also of the other presents. I have deemed it necessary, my Lord, to give you intelligence of this affair, which I

sur quoy il se forme des imaginations, assaveoir, quelle en peut estre l'ocasion. La pluspart juge que c'est pour faire presents, lesquels ils ont tous resolus de ne point ressevoir. Vos. Exc. comme tout sage, ne manque point d'interprete à entendre leur policie, quy n'est aultre que quelque personnage, comme l'on dict, a esté trop bisiboddy, pour souffler es oreylles du Duc de Chevreuse que sy vos. Exc. excelloit en une liberalité, que sela seroit à son grand desavantage. Je remarque aussy maintenant que ce n'est sans cause que le Secretaire du Duc de Chevreuse, estant à Paris, m'a fort importunné pour aveoir une liste de ce quy a esté donné tant aux serviteurs de sa mayson que des aultres presents. J'ay creu estre nessesaire, Monseigneur, de vous donner inteligence de ceste affaire, que je n'ay

have only learned since leaving the city. My author is Mons^r la Riviere, who is ignorant that I discover the fact to you. After a long and full discourse upon this subject, he said to me: That it is held at court that your Excellency has some intention of making presents, and that people are greatly surprised at it; that nobody will receive them, and even that everybody will take it as an affront. If they have been conspiring together, your prudent foresight will easily discover without letting it appear, and will easily fish to the bottom of this River.

Now, my good Lord, permit me to lay before you some lines touching myself in particular, for who knows whether fate will not make this the last of my importunities.

sceu que depuis avoir esté sorty de la ville. Mon auteur c'est Mons^r la Riviere, quy ne sçait que je vous descouvre ce faict; il m'a dict, appres un long et ample discours sur ce subject, ces parolles: *Que l'on tient à la cour que vos. Exc. a quelque intention de faire presents, et que l'on s'estonne fort de cela; qu'il n'y a pas un seul quy en recevra, et mesme le tiendront tous pour un affront. S'ils ont monopollé ensemble, vostre sage prevoyance dissernera bien sela sens faire semblant, et pesschera bien aisement jusques au fon de la Rivierre.*

Maintenant, mon bon Seigneur, permettez, s'il vous plaist, que je passe quelque lignes devant vos yeux touchant mon particulier, car quy sçait sy le destin ne rendra céste la fin de mes importunitez.

If, after taking leave of him whose graciousness is the delight of every one, I could not go away, and to give colour to an excuse, I said that I wished to see the Queen, the cause of my affliction is plain, at quitting thus him whom in the world I adore with the purest of my poor intentions. My Lord, I know this very paper blushes at my language of servility towards a master: but let me be permitted for the last time to protest that I never did any thing base, and despite of rogues, calumnies, enmities, and conspiracies, God avenging my just cause, will in the end make it appear what sort of person I have always been; and, touching that word that escaped me in jest, I appeal to God himself, who will prepare his arm to maintain my innocence, for witness of the small blame that ought

Sy, apres avoir pris congé de celuy dont la douceur charme tout le monde, il ne m'estoit possible de m'en aller, et que pour coulourir une excuse, je dis que je desireois veoir la Royne, la cause de mon affliction est evidente, de quitter ainssy celuy que j'adore au monde du plus pur de mes povres intentions. Monseigr, je sçay que ce papier mesme rougit de mon language de serviteur à seigneur, mais qu'il me soit permis pour la dernière fois de protester que je n'ay jamais fait chose lasche, et qu'en despit des fourbes, inventions, haynes et monopoles, Dieu, vengeant ma juste cause, fera paroistre à la fin quel j'ay tousjours esté; et touchant ceste parolle quy m'est eschappée en riant, c'est à Dieu meme que j'en appelle quy me dressera le bras à maintenir mon ignocence, et la peu de coulpe que l'on

to attach to me in this matter, according to the manner and the intention. As bees suck honey from sweet flowers, so do spiders extract a poison from them. All this displeasure would not have occurred if incendiaries had not contributed to it, whom I shall not hesitate to name, since at last the truth must always be spoken. Thanks be for it to Gabriel March in particular, and creatures like him, who, bursting with jealousy at seeing your Excellency trust your money and jewels to me, said in thundering voice, "Whee must have him down; he was but a painter the other day." I swear to God that I was never a painter till I placed myself under your patronage, leaving the Prince of Orange; and come what will, I will never be one: poverty shall change neither my blood nor my courage.

poura atribuer à mon endroit, selon la maniere de l'intention. Comme les abeilles sucent des doulces fleurs leur miel, ainssy les areignés en extraient un venin. Il n'en eust pas reussy toutte céste aigreur, sy des boutte-feux n'y eussent contribuez, que je ne feray consience de nommer puis que sur la fin l'on parle tousjours la verité. Graces en soit à Gabriel March en partiquulier et à ses semblables, creatures quy, crevant de jalousie de veoir que vostre Exc. me fioit et son argent et ses joyaux, disoit à bouche fulminante, *Whee must have him down; he was but a painter the other day.* Je jure de Dieu vivant que je ne fus jamais peintre que depuis que je me suis adonné sous vos. protection, sortant du Prince d'Orange; et en vienne se qu'il pourra, je ne le seray jamais: la povreté ne changera jamais mon sanc ny mon courage.

My Lord, they have descended to be so envious as to note that I had a hired carriage. God knows how much I have suffered in my leg, which did not allow me to stand, save when constrained, in order to enjoy your blessed presence; this carriage has been very convenient to take me these three days every evening out of the town to sleep, being of those for whom there is hardly any place at the board. See here the extremity and the fruits of passion! My Lord, I well know that it is not becoming of me to make a long discourse to you about myself. I have only one request to make to you: it is, that when God shall have upheld my cause, (of which I make no doubt,) and I may be in need of pardon, that it will then please your Excellency to remember me. And if I have never done any thing to merit such remembrance, I

Monseigneur, ils se sont tous revoltez jusques à prendre notice que j'aveois un carosse de louage. Dieu sçait comme j'ay souffert en ma jambe, laquelle ne m'a pas permise d'estre debout, que par contrainte, pour jouir de vos. heureuse presence; laquelle carosse m'a esté bien favorable à me mener ces trois jours tout les soirs hors de la ville pour coucher, estant de ceux pour quy il n'y a presque point de place à l'estable: voila l'extremité et les fruicts de la pation! Monseigr, je sçay bien qu'il ne m'appartient pas, touchant de mon partiquier, de vous tenir long discours; j'ay seulement une requeste à vous faire: c'est q'apres que Dieu aura maintenu ma cause, de laquelle je ne doute pas, et que j'aurois besoin d'un pardon, q'alors il pleust à vos. Exc. de se resouvenir de moy. Et sy je n'ay

supplicate you to cast your eyes on a proof of my zealous disposition in your service in a little example that I will communicate.

Being arrived with the present of horses at Paris, the Embassadors, principally my Lord Carlisle, asked me if I had letters for each in particular, and for the Queens; and if I knew in what terms your Excellency wrote to them. I answered that you had acquainted me with the tenor of the compliments. Their question arose from the anxiety they had about all that related to your person; they were very desirous of knowing how your Excellency subscribed your letters, whether "obedient servant," or "very humble servant," and principally to the Queen of England. I said that, for the Queen of England, I thought it was "servant." Whereupon

jamais rien faict qui puisse meriter cést souvenance, je la supplie de jetter les yeux sur une marque de mon ame zellée à vos. servisse par un petit exemple que je vous descouvriray.

Estant arivé avecque le present de chevaux à Paris, les ambassadeurs, principalement Milord Carleyle, me demenda sy j'avois lettres pour chascun en particulier, et pour les Roynes, et sy je sçaveois en quel terme vos. Exc. escrivoit à eux. Je luy respondis que vous m'aviez acointiez de la teneur des complements. Leur demande procedoit du soin qu'ils avoient de tout ce quy procedoit de vos. personne; ils estoient fort desireux de sçaveoir comment vos. Exc. se nommoit au bas des lettres, ou serviteur obeissant, ou serviteur tres humble, et principalement à la Roynie d'Angleterre. Je luy dis

he asked me very particularly whether I was sure of that. In order to know the reason and grounds of their curiosity, (knowing that you had written "subject,") I asked if there were any great difference in those matters, and whether the pen was not allowed great freedom in compliments. Whereupon my Lord Carlisle told me that it was a matter of great importance, and asked me at last if it was not "subject," relating to me a history (which occurred in England) of one who to the Queen Anne had subscribed himself "subject," and the King on that account thought of having him hanged; and repeating to me, "For God's sake! Gerbier, if you are not sure of that, rather burn the letter or do not deliver it, for," said he, "I would rather lose an arm." Whereupon I kept my countenance, and

que pour la Royne d'Angleterre, je croy que c'estoit serviteur. Sur quoy il me demenda fort curieusement sy j'estois asseuré de cela. Moy, pour en sçavoir la reson, et le fon de leur curiosité, (sachant que vous aviez mis subject,) je leur demenday s'il y avoit grande difference en ces choses là, et sy par compliment l'on ne pouvoit pas laisser couller la plume. Sur quoy Mons^r Carleyl me dict que c'estoit un cas de grande importance, et me demenda en fin s'il n'y avoit pas subject, me racontant une histoire, laquelle s'estoist passée en Engleterre, d'un quy avoist escript subject à la Royne Ane, et que le Roy le pensa faire pendre pour ceste occasion, me repetant, *For God-sacke*, Gerbier, sy vous n'estes asseuré de cela, bruslez plustost la lettre ou ne delivrez pas, car, disoit-il, j'aymerois mieux perdre un

assured him you had only written "servant;" but I hastened to my apartment, and all in a tremble broke the seal of your letter, and with a penknife erased the word "subject," for I thought it was better to do that than to leave you in danger. This long recital, my Lord, aims only at beseeching you to consider my sincere intention; and that, losing you for a master, I will never belong to another. My obstinate rival does me the honor to threaten me at Boulogne. If he is as valiant as he is ill-natured, he will have the victory. So the object to which my long discourse always tends is this, that when by the fortune of war I have need of pardon, your Excellency may not forget it. There needed not this conspiracy, for I had vexation enough at

bras. Sur quoy je fist bonne minne et luy asseuray que vous n'avez mis que serviteur, mais je m'en allay vistement en ma chambre et rompy le seau de vos. lettre tout tremblant, et avecques un canivet je esfassis le mot de subject, car je croiois qu'il valloit mieux faire cela que de vous laisser en denger. Ce long recit, Monseig^r, ne tend qu'à vous prier de jetter les yeux sur ma sincere intention, et que vous perdant pour tiltre de maistre, je ne seray jamais à aultre. Mon obstiné corival me faict cést honneur de me menasser à Boulogne. S'il est aussy vaillant qu'il est de mauvaise nature, il aura la victoire. Ainssy le but de mon long discours tousjours vise que lors que le sort du vainqueur aura besoin de pardon, que vos. Exc. ne l'oublie pas. Il ne m'estoist besoin de ce monopole, car j'avois

having lost *le cheval et la joconde*, having always had the fear of failing in something wherein you were interested. God knows, and my Lord Carlisle, if I have been wanting in diligence and importunity; on this proof I hazard the being, or ceasing to be,

Your Excellency's, &c.

B. GERBIER.

EARL OF BRISTOL TO SIR KENELM DIGBY.

[Of his dispute with the Duke of Buckingham.]

GOOD COUSIN,

THIS bearer, W. Gresly, will be able to tell you all that I can say of the estate of my unfortunate business; wherein having done all that I can think of by way of humiliation, I must now attend with

de la facherie assez d'aveoir perdu le cheval et la joconde,* aiant tousjours eu ceste crainte de faillir sur quelque subject que vous prendriez du contentement. Dieu sçait, et Mons^r Carleyl, sy j'ay manqué en diligence et importunité; et je mait en risque sur ceste preuve d'estre, ou de n'estre plus,

De vos. Exc. &c.

B. GERBIER.†

* Probably some proverb; but the allusion is not very intelligible.

† Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxiii. 422.

patience God's will and his Majesty's, for, on my part, I can do no more only defend my innocency the best I shall be able when I shall be called to any trial, which I confess, if my humble seekings and submissions may not take place, I should be glad were as speedy and as public as might be: but, cousin, I shall continue them, and so shall my wife at her coming up. And I entreat you to do the like with my Lord Duke upon all occasions you can lay hold of. There is further one particular wherein I shall entreat your kindness. I hear my Lord Duke should be informed that I should plot and combine with some Parliament-men that seemed adverse to his Grace at Oxford, and that thereupon should of late be much incensed against me. Herein, cousin, I shall entreat you to give his Grace satisfaction in my behalf, which you may do as truly as ever was in any business; for, I take God to record, I never would have to do, since I came into England, with any thing belonging to Parliament, nor never attempted any thing to the Duke's prejudice. The particulars W. Gresly will tell you by word of mouth, being too long for a letter: but I entreat you to deal very effectually; for, although my Lord Duke should ruin me to-morrow, yet, for Abrowth sake, I should be glad he were satisfied herein. And so, not having wherewith further to trouble

you for the present, I remember my love and service to you, and remain

Your most affectionate cousin to serve you,

BRISTOL.*

6th Feb. 1625.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO LORD CONWEY.

MY LORD,

I HAVE received your letter of the 25th of February, and therein a commandment in his Majesty's name to make a clear and plain answer whether I desire to rest in the security I am now in, and to acknowledge the gracious favour of his late Majesty, and of his which now is, who have been pleased not to question my actions, &c. Hereunto I have labored exactly to obey, but find that a plain and clear answer cannot possibly be made until there be a clear understanding of the thing propounded. So that I must crave pardon if my answer be not as clear as I could wish it; for I must freely acknowledge, that I no way understand what is meant by the security I am now in, whether it be by the present estate I am in or not; if it be so, I conceive a man cannot be under a harder condition; for your lordship knows, that by order

* This and the two subsequent letters are taken from the Harl. MSS. 1581.

my person is restrained, and you were pleased lately to send me word that you would not advise me to make use of the liberty which his late Majesty had given me of coming to London, although it were only to follow my private affairs, and for the recovery of my decayed health. I stand likewise prohibited to come to the Court, or to the King's presence. (I pass by the being removed from all my places and offices, and wholly depending upon his Majesty's royal pleasure.) But being a peer of this realm, I have not only by commandment been formerly stayed from the Parliament, but of late, by writ, [have] been detained, although my honor were forfeited. And this is truly the condition which I am now in; but I cannot imagine that this is the security intended I should rest in, but am in hope that the security intended is, that I may for the future enjoy the liberty of a free subject, and the privileges of a peer of the kingdom; which being so, I shall with all humility acknowledge his Majesty's grace and favor, and be ready to serve him with all fidelity, even to the laying down of my life; not thinking it to stand with the duty of a subject to press his being questioned, since, such being the pleasure of his Sovereign, it were not in the power of any subject to avoid it. But in case his Majesty shall be pleased to bring me to any legal trial, I shall most willingly and dutifully submit myself there-

unto, and doubt not but my innocency in the end will be my best mediator for his Majesty's future favor. And in that case I am a suitor, that my writ of Parliament as a peer of the realm may be sent unto me, and that my present repair unto London may not displease his Majesty.

And as for the pardon of the 21st Reg. Jacobi, which you mention I should renounce, I know that the justest and most cautious man living may, through omission or ignorance, offend the laws, so that, as a subject, I shall not disclaim any benefit which comes in the general, as it doth usually to all other subjects of the kingdom. But as for any crime in particular that may trench upon my employments in point of loyalty, fidelity, or want of affection to the King or State, I know my innocency to be such, that I am confident I shall not need that pardon.

I shall conclude with a most humble suit unto your lordship, that out of your nobleness, and that friendship that hath been betwixt us, you will use your best endeavours both with his Majesty and the Duke, that these unfortunate businesses may be passed over; by the renewing whereof I can see little use that can be made, but the adding to a man's misfortunes, already sufficiently humbled, for I am ready to do all that a man of honor and honesty may do; but rather than to do any thing that may be prejudicial to me in that kind, to suffer whatsoever

it shall please God to send: and so with the remembrance of my humble service unto your lordship, I recommend you to God's holy protection, and rest

Your lordship's most humble servant,

BRISTOL.*

Sherborne Lodge, the 4th of March, 1625.

BUCKINGHAM (?) TO BRISTOL.

MY LORD,

I RECEIVED a letter from your lordship dated the 4th of this month, written in answer to a former which I directed to your lordship by his Majesty's commandment. This last letter, according to my duty, I have showed unto his Majesty, who hath perused it, and hath commanded me to write back this unto you again, that he finds himself nothing satisfied therewith. The question propounded to your lordship from his Majesty was plain and clear, whether you did rather choose to sit still without being questioned for any errors past, in your negotiations in Spain, and enjoy the benefit of the late gracious pardon granted in Parliament whereof you may have the

* This letter has been published, but somewhat incorrectly, in the Cabala, p. 97. It seemed expedient to reprint it in this collection, rather than in the shape of a note, that the reader might better understand the answer and the other letters connected with it. Conway's answer is also in the Cabala, p. 378.

benefit, or whether for the clearing of your innocence, whereof yourself and your friends and followers are so confident, you will be contented to wave the advantage of that pardon, and put yourself into a legal way of examination for the trial thereof? His Majesty's purpose is not hereby to prevent you of any favor the law hath given you: if your assurance be such as your words and letter import, he conceives it stands not with that public and resolute profession of your integrity to decline your trial; his Majesty leaves the choice to yourself, and requires from you a direct answer, without circumlocution or bargaining with him for future favors before hand; that if you have a desire to make use of that pardon, which cannot be denied to you, nor is any way desired to be taken from you, his Majesty expects that you should at least forbear to magnify your service, and out of the opinion of your own innocence cast an aspersion upon his Majesty's justice in not affording you that present fulness of liberty and favor, which cannot be drawn from him but in his own good time and according to his good pleasure. Thus much I have in command to write unto your lordship, and to require your answer, clearly and plainly, by this messenger sent of purpose for it.

Whitehall, 21st of March 1625.

* * * * TO MR. MEAD.

[Disastrous event of a duel—and other accidents of the time.]

ON Saturday came hither the Earl of Bristol, who it is said shall be reconciled to the Duke.

That day also came Gondomar's secretary with letters from his master to his Majesty, the Prince, Duke, &c. It is said the letters import he brings peace, and the Palatinates in his pockets, and desires a safe conduct with one of the King's ships to fetch him from Calais, as also to have a house appointed for him; and that he writes merrily to the Duke, that when he comes they must needs fight, but that the place of their meeting shall be his Grace's own gallery.

On Saturday likewise was here the highest spring-tide that in thirty or forty years hath been remembered, whereby much hurt is done here in merchandize, and along the river on both sides in cattle.

Sir Humphrey Tufton* and Mr. Murray, of the Prince's bed-chamber, brother to his Highness' late secretary, meeting on the same Saturday in St. George's Fields to fight, upon a falling out at a stage play; they, with consent, departed with-

* Of Bobing and the Mote near Maidstone in Kent, Kt. and Bart.; brother of Nicholas Lord Tufton, afterwards Earl of Thanet.

out fighting till some other time, when they might do it privately, and none to see them. The reason was, that Tufton having first appointed with seconds, afterwards sent word it should be single. Yet came Mr. Gibson, another Scotsman, the King's servant, a skilful cannonier, and who had in reversion the Master Gunnership of England, and should have been Mr. Murray's second, into the field, walking a good way off to observe the event; and therefore Tufton would not then fight, lest he might be wronged. So Tufton went thence one way, and Murray another, unto whom Gibson came, reproached him (Murray) for not fighting; said he had shamed his nation, that his surname should ever hereafter in all men's mouths be coward—drew secretly his sword and thrust Murray through both his cheeks. Hereupon Murray also drew and thrust Gibson into the belly, who, before he fell, gave Murray two wounds in the body. Gibson died that night, and Murray not desiring to live, died also on Tuesday following at night.

Furthermore, on Saturday came Mr. Maynwaring, or Manning, the Prince's servant, unto Mr. Palmer's at London Bridge, as he often used to do. After a while he went up into a chamber, made fast the door at the inside, took a wainscot frame out of the window, stripped himself naked, laid aside his rings, leaped into the Thames, and was drowned; whose body is not

found. The cause of his desperation is diversly spoken of.

On Monday, Dr. Prideaux, Vice Chancellor of Oxford, having at the Earl of Montgomery's lodgings, near the Cock-pit, bestowed three days in catechising the young Lord Dormer* and the Lady Anne Herbert,† and the last Sunday administered the Lord's supper unto them, then married them by special licence of the Archbishop's; of which young lord is much good conceived, though his mother be an absolute recusant, and his brother like to prove so, if any thing at all.

On Thursday, between one and two in the morning, died the Lord Marquis of Hamilton, not without suspicion of poison, as is said, because after death his whole body, with neck, face, and head, swelled exceedingly, and was strangely spotted. The young lord was then so dangerously sick at the Countess of Bedford's at New Park, that he could not come unto his father before his death.

London, March 4th, 1824-5.

* Robert, afterwards Earl of Caernarvon.

† Anna Sophia, eldest daughter of Philip Earl of Montgomery, afterwards Pembroke.

ANDREW BYNG TO * * * *

[Proceedings against Bristol in the House of Lords.]

* * * On Saturday last, in the morning, the Earl of Bristol was at the bar before the Lords of the Upper House. Where Mr. Attorney-General did charge him with many particulars of miscarriage of his negotiation in Spain, and ill offices there done to our now King, then Prince ; and, among others, his attempting to persuade the Prince either to embrace the Roman religion, or at leastwise to make semblance of it. The Attorney having delivered his charge, the Earl, before he would answer thereto, besought the Lords, first, that they would conceive his case to be their own ; secondly, that they would do him this favor, to know of Mr. Attorney whether he had uttered all that he had in charge to accuse him of. Whereto the Lords did condescend, and Mr. Attorney did answer forthwith, that he had no further matter to charge him with at this present. Thereupon the Earl began to address himself to his answer, and praised God that the great noise of High Treason (wherewith some two or three days before in that place the Duke had charged him, and he likewise, by recrimination, retorted the like upon the Duke) was now ended in such petty matters ; all which also he was well assured that he could easily wipe

off, having the King his late master's direction and commandment under his hand, for the acting of all those parts (which carried such an outside of a bad carriage on his part) before they were done, and his gracious approbation afterward of his whole negotiation, and pardon for any error and defect in the managing of the same. But forasmuch as his said papers were now at Shireborne Castle, he craved favor, that he might be credited till he did show them, and have some three or four days' respite to send a post for them. He added further, that he much dreaded, before his coming to that bar, that there would have been laid to his charge some crime suitable to those terrible reports of high treason wherewith he had been scandalized ;* as, namely, that he had gone to mass in Spain ; that he had adored the Pax in the open street ;† that he had received bulls and dispensations from Rome ; that he had gone beyond the limits of his commission ; that he had sent the King's navy to no purpose into foreign regions, but to expose it to hazard, ruin, and scorn ; mispent the King's money, advanced every one of his own kindred, without any desert of theirs, with many other sarcastical and biting passages to that purpose. The Lords granted his desires, and allotted him to bring in his papers of defence until to-morrow

* See Rushworth, i. 259.

† Rushworth, i. 266.

or Thursday next. He carried himself in this appearance on Saturday very temperately and sadly, but spake lower; whereas, at his first calling thither and confronting of the Duke, he demeaned himself in a very passionate manner, for the which, his then carriage, he did at this second appearance crave pardon of the Lords.

The House of Commons did yesterday (as I think, for so it was intended,) send all their load into the Upper House against the Duke; and, because they would not have a secular lord of his place to be unattended with a chaplain suitable, they sent the like load of much foul stuff against the Bishop of Bangor, whereof I blush to write for Sion's sake, and do heartily pray they may be false.

Yours at command,

A. B.*

From Mr. Lawes, at St. Austen's Gate in
Paul's Churchyard. May 9, 1625.

Since my writing this afternoon, I repaired to my Lord Chief Justice, his lodging at Sergeant's Inn; but he was not then within. I have also been certified from a parliament man, that the House of Commons have divided their charge against the Duke into two days' work, to be uttered before the Lords by eight several persons; four whereof discharged their trusts yesterday. The parties were these, Sir Dudley

* *i. e.* Andrew Byng.

Digges, Mr. Selden, Mr. Glanville—I have forgotten the fourth. The other four (whose names I have not yet heard of) delivered their errand this very day. My Lord of Bristol made also one request more, at his appearance on Saturday before the Lords, that he might know his accuser. Whereto Mr. Attorney being required by the Lords to answer and to discover who was the accuser, answered, that the King himself was he who charged Bristol with those particulars which he had uttered. I pray you commend me to any of my neighbors of Yarmouth as you see them, and tell them that Mr. Attorney General did inform me from his own mouth last Saturday, that the King hath commanded to pen a proclamation forthwith to be published, that letters of marque shall be granted to any subject in as full and ample manner as ever they were granted in Queen Elizabeth's time; they putting in sufficient sureties to the Admiralty, that they will not prove pirates, but spoil only the common enemy and continue their loyalty to the King.*

* Orig. Hol. Tan. lxxii. 169.

INDEX.

A.

- Abbot, Dr. George, Abp. of Canterbury, invites the Abp. of Spalato to England, i. 339; notice of his accession to the Archbishopric, ii. 135; his letters to the Bishop of London, 157; to Sir G. Villiers, 160.
- Albert, Archduke, refuses King James's book in defence of the oath of allegiance, i. 263.
- Aldred, Mr. committed for writing against the proposed marriage between Prince Charles of England and the Infanta of Spain, ii. 193.
- Allegiance, oath of, King James's book in defence of the, i. 262; refused at the court of Brussels, 263.
- Ambassadors, observations on, i. 401.
- Anne, Queen of England, (consort of James I.) her disagreement with the Earl of Salisbury, i. 37; her legacies, 168; her letter to the Earl of Salisbury, ii. 145; her reception of the King of Denmark, 137; entertained by him on board his fleet, 140; his present to her, 142; her illness, 186; notice of her death, 187 *n.*; funeral, 195.
- Antonio, Don, a competitor for the crown of Portugal, account of, i. 152.
- Arundel, Philip Howard Earl of, accused of treason, i. 140; his trial and execution, 141 *n.*
- Countess of, her character, i. 145 *n.*
- Aston, Sir Robert, account of, i. 16 *n.*; his character, 18.
- Sir Walter, his letter to the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 368.

B.

- Bacon, Sir Francis, afterwards Lord, account of his chancellorship, i. 283; created Lord Verulam and

- Viscount St. Albans, 284 *n.*; dedicates his works to the King, ii. 221; his acknowledgments to the Duke of Buckingham, 222; his letters to King James I. 220; to the Marquis of Buckingham, 222, 223.
- Bacon, Sir Nicholas, anecdote of, i. 279 *n.*
- Baily, Dr. Lewis, Bp. of Bangor, accused in the Commons, ii. 409.
- Baldwyn, Mr. a Jesuit, suspected of favouring the gunpowder plot, i. 114.
- Balfour, Sir James, his account of the treaty between the English and Scotch ministers on the union of the kingdoms, i. 19 *n.*; his remarks on the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland, 96.
- Banger, Mr. Woolphengus, Dutch apothecary to King James I. remarks respecting, i. 410.
- Banqueting house at Whitehall, account of its destruction by fire, ii. 175. 187.
- Bashe, Mr. notice of his being drowned, ii. 10.
- Basinge, Queen Elizabeth entertained there by Lord and Lady Paulet, ii. 20.
- Beaumont, M. de, French ambassador in England, sets out for France, ii. 107; rumours respecting, 113.
- Bedell, Mr. his letter to Dr. Ward, ii. 325.
- Bellieure, M. de, notice of his opposition to the execution of the Queen of Scots, i. 130 *n.*
- Benett, Dr. preferred to the Bishopric of Hereford, i. 14.
- Bishoprics, endowment of, in Ireland and Scotland, i. 91.
- Bishops, account of their refusal to crown Queen Elizabeth, i. 420.
- Blunt, Sir Christopher, notice of his execution, ii. 18.
- Bohemia, King of, see *Frederick V.*
- Queen of, see *Elizabeth, Princess.*

- Borderers of Scotland, their incursion on the English borders, ii. 9.
- Bothwell, Earl of, his marriage with the Queen of Scots, i. 77.
- Bouillon, Duke de, negotiates for a treaty between France and England, ii. 2.
- Bowles, Dr. John, his account of the death of the Earl of Salisbury, i. 47 *n*.
- Brill, town of, account of its restoration to the Hollanders, i. 48. 414 *n*. 415.
- Bristol, John Digby first Earl of, his quarrel with the Duke of Buckingham, i. 373. 403; offers made to him in Spain, 375; committed for treason, 403; his address to the Prince at the Spanish Court, 404; accusations against him, 407; proceedings against him in the House of Lords, ii. 407; requests to know the name of his accuser, 410; his letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, 320; to Sir Kenelm Digby, 397; to Lord Conwey, 399; Duke of Buckingham's letter to, 402.
- British seas, remarks on the, i. 172.
- Brook, Henry, Lord Cobham, notice of his quarrel with Sir R. Cecil, i. 15 *n*.; remarks on his conduct to Sir Walter Raleigh, 65. 67; married to Lady Kildare, 70 *n*.; remarks respecting him, 179; notice of his death, ii. 10 *n*.
- Mr. George, his trial for treason, i. 63; found guilty, 64.
- Brown, Anthony, first Viscount Montague, notice of him, ii. 123 *n*.
- Buckhurst, Thomas Sackville first Lord, remarks on his opinion in regard to the Queen of Scots, i. 133 *n*.; see *Dorset*.
- Buckingham, Duke of, see *Villiers*.
- Countess, suspected of administering a plaster to King James in his last illness, i. 410 *n*.; Bishop Hacket's character of her, ii. 183; her letters to her son the Marquis, *ib*. 258. 276.
- Katherine Manners Duchess of, her marriage with the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 189 *n*. 192; her letters to her husband, 277. 283. 309; letters to her from Tobie Matthews, 303.
- Burwell, Mr. remarks on the construction of his ships, i. 55.
- Butler, Dr., physician, anecdotes of him, i. 107.
- Byng, Andrew, his account of the proceedings in the House of Lords against the Earl of Bristol, ii. 407.
- C.
- Cadiz, account of the English expedition to, ii. 5.
- Calvert, Mr. Secretary, remarks respecting, i. 376; letter to, from Mr. F. Cottington, ii. 252.
- Camden, Mr. his character, i. 126; reference to his remarks respecting the Queen of Scots, 127.
- Canons of Windsor, story respecting, i. 206.
- Canterbury, Abp. of, see *Abbot*.
- Carew, Sir G. his letters to the Earl of Salisbury, ii. 97; to Lord Carew, 100; letters to him from Sir R. Cecil, 12.
- George Lord, letter to, from Sir G. Carew, ii. 100.
- Caricatures — of King James I. i. 242; the Queen of Bohemia, *ib*.; the Prince Palatine, 243.
- Carleton, Sir Dudley, invites the Abp. of Spalato to England, i. 338.
- Carr, Sir Robert, Earl of Somerset, anecdote of, i. 216; account of his decline and fall, *ib*. *n*.; remarks on his marriage with the Countess of Essex, 221; true reason of his fall, 225. 257 *n*.; discovery of his participation in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, ii. 144.
- Carey, Sir Robert, Earl of Monmouth, remarks on his conduct on the death of Queen Elizabeth, i. 5 *n*.; appointed guardian of Prince Charles, 7 *n*.
- Catesby, Mr. one of the conspirators in the gunpowder plot, i. 103.
- Cecil, Sir Robert, Earl of Salisbury, notice of his quarrel with Lord Cobham, i. 15 *n*.; retains his secretaryship on the accession of King James, 23; presented to him, 28; the King's testimony in his favour, 31; refutations of the reports against him, 33; created Earl of Salisbury, 36; his difference with the Queen, 37; account of his rise in the King's favour, 38; cause

- of his fall, 40 ; notice of a warrant against him, 45 ; his illness, 46 ; note respecting his death, 47 *n.* ; account of his influence with Queen Elizabeth, 96 *n.* ; his intelligence of the gunpowder plot, 102. 105 ; his letters to Sir George Carew, ii. 12 ; to Lord Montjoy, 39. 45 ; letters to him from Sir G. Carew, 97 ; from Sir T. Overbury, 143 ; from Queen Anne, 145.
- Cecil, Thomas, first Earl of Exeter, his opinion of Queen Elizabeth, i. 4.
- William, remarks respecting him, i. 330 *n.*
- Chancellor, Lord, great power of, in England, i. 275, 276 ; characters of different chancellors, 278.
- Chandos, Lady, notice of her death, ii. 107.
- Charles Duke of York, (afterwards Charles I.) guardianship of, entrusted to the Earl of Monmouth, i. 7 *n.* ; notice of the impediment in his speech, 8 *n.* ; persuaded to join in the prosecution against the Earl of Middlesex, 325 ; his high opinion of his wisdom, 327 ; proposal for his marriage with the King of Spain's daughter, 360 ; supposed to be his own contrivance, 363 ; his journey into Spain, 369 ; reception at that court, 371. ; supposed reason for the breach of the match, 377. 379 ; shows his contempt for the marriage, 380 ; remarks on his desire for war, 382 ; his proposed marriage with the Infanta of Spain, ii. 235. 239 ; intercedes for his sister the Queen of Bohemia, 250 ; account of his journey into Spain, 253 ; his answer to the Pope's nuncio, 260 ; his attachment to the Infanta, 284 ; remarks on his conduct in Spain, 320 ; on the cause of the treaty of marriage with the Infanta being broken off, 322 ; account of the Marquis of Inoiosa's attempts to prejudice the King against him, 324 ; comments respecting his proposed marriage, 349. 351 ; his letter to the Duke of Buckingham, 209 ; to King James, 253. 296 ; letters to him from the King, 255. 257. 297, 298, 299.
- Cheney, Bishop, observations respecting, i. 125.
- Chevallier, President, account of some paintings in his possession, ii. 328.
- Chevreuse, Duke of, his letter to the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 380.
- Church, James the First's opinion of the authority of the, i. 259. 261.
- of Scotland, ambition of the, i. 261, 262.
- Clarendon, Lord, notice of his character of Lord Weston, i. 2 *n.* ; of Sir Henry Montague, 291 *n.*
- Clarke, Mr. a priest, his trial for treason, i. 64 ; his execution as one of the conspirators of the Raleigh plot, ii. 87.
- Mr. Edward, his letter to the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 300.
- Clement VIII. Pope, character of, i. 82 *n.* ; King James's application to him, *ib.*
- Cobham, Lord, see *Brook, Henry.*
- Cofe, Mr. his execution, ii. 18.
- Coinage, remarks on the English, ii. 245.
- Coke, Chief Justice, his letters to Viscount Villiers, ii. 161.
- Colman, Morgan, remarks on his correct housekeeping, i. 318 *n.*
- Commons, House of, refractory conduct of, ii. 209.
- Como, Cardinal, his intriguing character, i. 120 *n.*
- Compton, William Lord, letter to him from Lady Compton, ii. 127 ; remarks on his accession to his property, 127, 128 *n.*
- Lady Elizabeth, her letter to her husband, ii. 127.
- Condé, Princess of, account of her escape from drowning, ii. 99, 100.
- Confession, observations on the nature of, i. 109 ; necessity of, 111.
- Conway, Secretary, (afterwards first Lord Conway,) his letters to the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 273. 286. 290, 291. 306. 346. 363 ; letter to him from the Earl of Bristol, 399.
- Cooke, Sir John, one of the commissioners appointed to superintend naval affairs, i. 54 ; account of him, 308 *n.*
- Cornwalleys, Mr. T. his letter to Sir John Hobart, ii. 91.
- Cottington, Mr. F. his letters to Secretary Calvert, ii. 252.

Cotton, Sir Robt. letters to him from Mr. Pory, ii. 124. 138.
 Court of Requests, great improvements in the, i. 293.
 Coventry, Sir T. his letter to the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 370.
 Crane, Sir Robt. letter to him from Mr. R. Trym, ii. 185.
 Cranfield, Sir Lionel, (afterwards Earl of Middlesex,) notice of his remarks on the abuses in the navy, i. 53 *n.*; appointed Lord Treasurer, 293; account of, 296; member of the Mercers' Company, 298; his speech to the Lords of the Council, 302; obliges the Earl of Northampton, 304; introduced to the King, made Master of Requests, 306; his reforms, 308; conversation with the King, 311; created Earl of Middlesex, 312; anecdotes of his administration, 313; fills the office of Treasurer and Master of the Wards together, 315; opposes raising the coinage, 316; proposes the repairing of St. Paul's, 317; King James's praise of his house-keeping, 319; his economy in the King's revenues, 322; remarks on his fall, 324; his principal enemies, 325; his policy in reference to the Spanish match, 326; King Charles's high opinion of him, 327; character of his correspondence, ii. 202; anecdote of him, 203; his account of the state of the revenue, *ib.* 207. 211; account of his examination, 325; his letters to Viscount Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, 164. 202. 207. 210.
 Cranmer, Abp. his religious tenets, i. 259.
 Crompton, Mr. his illness, ii. 276.
 Cuff, see *Cofe*.
 Cumberland, George Clifford Earl of, notice of his death, ii. 106; his will, 107.

D.

Darnley, Henry Lord, account of his marriage with Mary Queen of Scotland, i. 76; of his murder, 77; his imperious character, *ib. n.*
 Dartford, story of the tailor of, i. 396.
 Davenant, Dr. afterwards Bp. remarks respecting him, ii. 189 *n.*

Davers, Sir Charles, implicated in the Earl of Essex's conspiracy, ii. 13; notice of his execution, 18.
 Davison, Secretary, his observations relative to the execution of the Queen of Scots, i. 132; notice of his disgrace, *ib. n.*
 Denmark, King of, account of his arrival in England, ii. 136; his entertainment by the King and Queen, 138; entertains the King and Queen on board his ship, 140; his presents to them, 142.
 Derby, Ferdinand Earl of, Camden's account of his death, i. 143 *n.*
 ——— Henry Stanley Earl of, remarks respecting him, i. 140; a suspected partisan of the Queen of Scots, 142 *n.*; observations on his death, 143 *ib. n.*
 Digby, Sir Kenelm, passage in his defence before the House of Commons, i. 184 *n.*; letter to him from the Earl of Bristol, ii. 397.
 Dolman, Abel, character of, i. 84 *n.*
 Dominis, Antonio de, see *Spalato*.
 Donne, Dr. accompanies Lord Doncaster to Germany, ii. 195.
 Dormer, Robert Lord, (afterwards Earl of Caernarvon,) his marriage with Lady Anne Herbert, ii. 406.
 Dorset, Thomas Sackville Earl of, letters to him from Lord Montague, ii. 118. 120.
 Douay, establishment of Catholic seminaries in, i. 90.
 Drake, Sir Francis, remarks on his death, i. 170.
 Dun, Dr. letter to him from Simon Theloal, ii. 55.
 Dunbar, Earl of, see *Home*.
 Duresme, Bishop of, see *Tunstal*.
 Durham, Bishop of, see *Neile*.
 Dyer, Mr. Edw. letter to, from the Earl of Essex, ii. 1.

E.

Edmonds, Sir Thomas, English ambassador at Brussels, his conduct respecting the King's book, i. 262; letters to, from Sir Edw. Hobart, ii. 106; from Sir John Sanford, 132.
 Egerton, Lord Chancellor, account of his public life, i. 273; his infirmities, 281; death, 282.

Elizabeth, Queen of England, opinions of her, i. 4, 5 *n.*; remarks respecting, 9 *n.*; desirous of breaking off the league between France and Scotland, 11; her influence in the government of that kingdom, 12; her reception of the Duke Prusiano, 17; account of her interview with the Polish ambassador, 59 *n.*; of her changing the religion of the state, 73; her anger at the marriage between Lord Darnley and the Queen of Scots, 76; anecdote of her, *ib.* *n.*; her penuriousness, 96; her conversation with Cecil, 97 *n.*; effect of the Irish war on her spirits, 98 *n.*; account of a conspiracy against her life, 120; offended at the Earl of Essex's marriage, 147 *n.*; her answer to Dr. Lopez, 151; her promises to him during his imprisonment, 153, 154; her personal courage, 161; account of her going to council, 163; her appearance in old age, 164; nobles of her court, 177; anecdote of her, 198; comparison between the magnificence of her court and that of King James I. 199; parallel between her times and those of King James, 413; account of her proclamation, 418; her conduct to the bishops, 419; quarrel with the Earl of Essex, ii. 1; despatches a fleet to Cadiz, 5 *n.*; swears to the treaty with France, 10 *n.*; account of her entertainment at Basinge by Lord and Lady Paulet, 21; anecdote of the flattery of her courtiers, 38; her disposition towards the Irish rebels, 39; Tyrone's submission to, 42; her conditions respecting his pardon, 50; accounts of her death, 55; her letters to Lord Montjoy, 28. 43. 49; Lord Montjoy's letters to her, 23. 28. 29. 32. 33. 34. 37.

Princess of England and Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. married to the Prince Palatine, i. 228; crowned Queen of Bohemia, 238; compelled to fly, 240 *n.*; takes refuge in the Low Countries, 242; caricatured, *ib.*; pension allowed to, by King James, 243 *n.*; the Prince of Wales's intercession for her, ii. 250.

Elvis (or Elwys), Sir Jervis, Lieut. of the Tower, discloses his knowledge of the murderer of Sir T. Overbury, ii. 144 *n.*; his trial, 147; execution, 148. 151. 154.

England, uncertain titles of the Kings of, i. 85; want of small specie in, 171 *n.*; remarks on the simplicity of the courts of the early kings of, 189; on the efficiency of the government of, 271; power of the Lord Chancellor in, 275; remarks on the authority of England, ii. 349.

English courts, simplicity of, in the reigns of the early kings, i. 189; aggrandizement of, in that of Henry VIII. 191; comparison respecting, between the reigns of King James and Queen Elizabeth, 199.

Epernon, Duke of, carries the Queen Mother of France from Bloys to Engolesme, ii. 186.

Erskine, John, seventh Earl of Mar, account of, i. 10 *n.*

— Sir Thomas, of Gogar, Earl of Kelly, account of, i. 15 *n.*; his marriage with the Viscountess Kilmarnock, 391.

Essex, Robert Devereux second Earl of that family, his accusation against Dr. Lopez, i. 145; conversation with Dr. Overall, 146; marriage, 147; restored to the Queen's favour, 149; his intrigues with Lopez, 150; accuses him to the Queen, 153; remarks respecting him, 156; his quarrel with Queen Elizabeth, ii. 1; the Lady Warwick's friendship for him, 3 *n.*; his expedition against Cadiz, 5 *n.*; copy of his letter to the Council, 8 *n.*; account of his conspiracy, 11; remarks on his inconsistent conduct, *ib.* *n.*; account of his behaviour after his trial, 14. 16; notice of his execution, 18; his letter to Mr. Edward Dyer, ii. 1.

— Robert Devereux third Earl of, notice of his marriage, ii. 125.

— Frances Countess of, question respecting the nullity of her marriage with the Earl of Essex, i. 221; notice of her marriage with Somerset, 223; note respecting her marriage to the Earl of Essex, ii. 125.

Excommunication, remarks on, i. 261.

Exeter, Countess of, prefers a bill of accusation against Sir Thomas Lake and his family, i. 193; petitions the King to burn some letters, 195; letter to her from Lady Lake, ii. 196.
Evers, Lord, reproved for circulating reports respecting King James I. i. 387.

F.

Fairfax, Lord, anecdote of, ii. 268 *n.*
Faux, Guy, one of the conspirators in the gunpowder plot, account of his arrest, ii. 111, 112. 117. 123.
Fielding, William Lord, afterwards Earl of Denbigh, ii. 216.
Fisher, Bishop, notice of an attempt to poison him, i. 108.
Fitz-Williams, Sir William, his tyranny over the Irish nobles, i. 138 *n.*
Fletcher, Dr. attends the Queen of Scots at her execution, i. 133; notice of his preferments, 134; account of him, *ib. n.*
Flushing, town of, account of its restoration to the Hollanders, i. 48. 414.
Fortescue, Sir John, description of his character, i. 24 *n.*
France, confusion in the religious foundations of, i. 89; remarks on the construction of chimneys in, ii. 343.
——— Kings of, see *Henry III. IV. Francis II.*
——— Queen of, narrowly escapes drowning, ii. 98; her jealousy of the Marquis of Verneuil, 101. 103.
Francis II. King of France, his marriage with the Queen of Scots, i. 74; death, 75.
Frederick V. Prince Elector and Count Palatine of the Rhine, married to Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England, i. 228; offered the crown of Bohemia, 237. 239 *n.*; his coronation, 238; defeated by the Duke of Bavaria, 240; takes refuge in the Low Countries, 242; caricatures and play in derision of him, 243 *n.*
Fuller, Dr. Thomas, his account of the candidates for King James's favour, i. 28 *n.*

G.

Garnet, H. one of the conspirators in the gunpowder plot, i. 104. 109. 113.

Gaudy, Justice, made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, ii. 109.

Gerbier, Balthasar, account of his negotiation for different works of art, ii. 328; his letters to the Duke of Buckingham, 260. 326. 356. 369. 383. 388.

Gibson, Mr. account of his duel with Mr. Murray, ii. 405.

"God and the King," principles of the book so called, i. 267.

Gondomar, Count, Spanish ambassador at the court of King James, anecdote of him, i. 29; his conversation with the Duke of Lenox relative to the Spanish match, 360; anecdote respecting him, ii. 229 *n.*; attempts to promote the marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain, 234. 240 *n.*; insulted by the Conde of Olivares, 324; his quarrel with him, 368; his letters to King James, 234; to the Marquis of Buckingham, 238.

Grey, Thomas Lord, of Wilton, one of the conspirators in the Raleigh plot, pardoned, ii. 92.

Gregory XIII. Pope, his promises of assistance to Mary Queen of Scots, i. 79, 80 *n.*

Gunpowder Plot, remote causes of the, i. 73. 87. 99; description of the conspirators, 102; discovery of the plot, 105, 106. ii. 110; remarks on the plot, i. 108; on the conspirators, 111. 113; reward offered for the apprehension of Percy, 115; some of the traitors sent to the Tower, 117.

H.

Hacket, Bishop, his remarks on the Duke of Buckingham, i. 225 *n.*; his character of the Countess of Buckingham, ii. 183 *n.*

Hackwell, Dr. George, remarks on his opposing the Spanish match, i. 365; account of him, 366 *n.*

Haddington, Lady, notice of her death, ii. 187.

Hall, Dr. afterwards Bishop, his letter to Dr. Ward, ii. 194.

Hamilton, James Duke of, notice of him, ii. 247; of his marriage, 248 *n.*; his letters to the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 247.

- Hamilton, Marquis of, his death, ii. 406.
- Heath, Nicholas, Abp. of York, account of his proclaiming Queen Elizabeth, i. 418, 419.
- Sir Robert, his letters to the Marquis of Buckingham, ii. 244. 370.
- Henry III. King of France, his death, i. 81 *n.*
- IV. of France, cautions King James against the Catholics, i. 87; his treaty with Queen Elizabeth, ii. 9 *n.*; narrowly escapes drowning, 98; anecdotes of him, 100.
- II. of England, increased magnificence of the English court in his reign, 192.
- VIII. magnificence of the English court in his reign, i. 191.
- Prince of Wales, son of James I. his death, suspicion of his being poisoned, i. 247; public lamentations, 248 *n.*; his character, *ib.* 250; anecdotes of him, 251, 252 *n.*; remarks on the proposals for his match with the Infanta of Spain, 357; letters to him from Arabella Stuart, ii. 103, 104.
- Herbert, Gerard, his letter to Dr. Ward, ii. 186.
- Lady Anna Sophia, account of her marriage with Lord Dormer, ii. 406.
- Hewme, Sir George, see *Home*.
- Hobart, Sir Edw. his letter to Sir T. Edmonds, ii. 106.
- Sir John, letters to him from Robt. Hobart, ii. 87. 89; from T. Cornwalleys, 91.
- Robert, his letters to Sir John Hobart, ii. 87. 89.
- Hoboguer, Madame de, remarks respecting her, ii. 109.
- Holderness, Earl of, see *Ramsay*.
- Holland, restoration of the towns of Flushing and Brill to, i. 48. 414.
- Holman, Villiers, his letter to the Cardinal Richelieu, ii. 348.
- Home, Sir George (afterwards Earl of Dunbar), character and account of, i. 19 *n.*; his Scotch embassies, 21.
- Honour, remarks on the useless punctilios of, i. 62.
- Howard, Sir Robert, notice of the proceedings against him, ii. 377.
- Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, his

- remarks on Queen Elizabeth's aversion to appoint her successor, i. 9 *n.*; appointed treasurer, 289; removed from office, 290; his character, ii. 131 *n.*
- Hubberd (or Hobart), John, letter to him from Thomas Tooke, ii. 20.
- Hudson, James, notice of his embassy to Scotland, i. 12.
- Hunsdon, Henry Carey first Lord, character of, i. 178 *n.*

I.

- Ingram, Sir Arthur, character of, i. 252 *n.*
- Inoiosa, Marquis of, account of his attempts to prejudice King James against Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 324.
- Ireland, endowment of bishoprics in, by King James I. i. 91; Tyrone's rebellion in, 93; Spaniards land in, 31.

J.

- Jacob, Lady Mary, her letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, ii. 229; anecdote of her, *ib.* *n.*
- James VI. King of Scotland, and James I. of England, entrusts the care of his son to the Earl of Monmouth, i. 7 *n.*; notice of his proclamation in England, 8, 9 *n.*; his reception of Queen Elizabeth's messengers, 13; remarks on his disposition, 18; on his treatment of the Scotch nation, 20, 21; favours the Earl of Northumberland, 26; his opinion of Secretary Cecil, 28; anecdote respecting him, 29; his testimony in favour of Sir Robert Cecil, 31; desires the French King's friendship, 39; his favourites, 40; conduct to the Earl of Salisbury, 44; his desire for peace, 61; justification of his conduct in regard to Sir Walter Raleigh, 68, 69; notice of his application to the Pope previous to his accession to the throne of England, 82; his conduct to the Papists, 87; endowment of bishoprics in Ireland and Scotland by him, 91; his conduct on Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland, 94; accused of ingratitude to the Earl of Northumberland, 102 *n.*; conspiracy of the Papists against him, 103; informed of it, 105; re-

marks on his conduct to his mother's partizans and enemies, 135, *ib. n.*; 136 *n.*; his respect for his Queen, 167; conduct after her death, 168; alters the coinage, 171 *n.*; his partiality for hunting, 174; present at the trial of Sir Thomas Lake, 195; deprives him of the secretaryship, 196; his opinion of Lady Lake, 197 *n.*; comparison between the magnificence of his court and that of Queen Elizabeth, 199; his bounty to the Scots, 204; comments on his treatment of the Lady Arabella Stuart, 210, 211; on his theological controversies, 214; confers the honour of knighthood on Mr. G. Villiers, 224; marries his daughter the Princess Elizabeth to the Prince Palatine, 228; refuses to sanction the conduct of his son-in-law, 238 *n.*; forbids his subjects to acknowledge him King of Bohemia, 240; censured by writers for refusing to join in the war for the recovery of the Palatinate, 240, 242 *n.*; money spent in embassies during his reign, 244; sends a fleet against the pirates, 245; death of his son, 247; his sentiments respecting the authority of the church, 259. 261; his book in defence of the oath of allegiance, 262; removes Lord Suffolk from the Treasury, 290; his conversation with Sir Lionel Cranfield, 311; his praise of him, 319; issues a proclamation against the Scotch rabble, 321; anecdotes of him, 327 *n. ii.* 268; his reception of the Abp. of Spalato, *i.* 339; gives him several preferments, 340; his conduct on the Archbishop's departure, 347. 349; restores his trunks, 352; remarks on the proposed marriages for his sons, 357; desires the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain, 361; his conduct on its proposal, 365; his affection for the Duke of Buckingham, 384, 393; reports respecting him, 387; his foresight of the consequences of the breach of the Spanish match, 394; refutation of the charge against him of cowardice, 395; his illness, 409, 410 *n.*; notice of his death, 410; rumour of his being poisoned, 411 *n.*; pa-

rallel between his times and those of Queen Elizabeth, 413; account of his resignation of the towns of Flushing and Brill, 414 *n.*; of his proclamation on the death of Queen Elizabeth, *ii.* 57; conspiracy of the Papists against him, called the gunpowder plot, 110; offers a reward for the apprehension of Percy, 115; his speech in parliament, 116; entertains the King of Denmark, 138, 139; entertained by him on board his ship, 140; his presents to the King, 142; his life attacked by a Frenchman, 169; conspiracy against him, 198; account of the state of his revenue, 203 *n.*; proposed marriage between his son and the Infanta of Spain, 235; his taste for collecting rare animals, 237 *n.*; notice of the contradictory accounts respecting his reign, 249 *n.*; his fondness for the children of the Duke of Buckingham, 290; his directions respecting the Infanta's journey to England, 299; his attachment to the Duke of Buckingham, 306; remarks on the termination of the treaty of marriage of his son with the Infanta, 322; attempts of the Marquis of Inoiosa to prejudice him against the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham, 324; his letters to Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, 255. 257. 297, 298, 299. 380; to the King of Spain, 259; to the Infanta, 295; letters to him from Lord Bacon, 220; from Secretary Naunton, 227; from the Count Gondomar, 234; from Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, 253. 296; from the Duke of Buckingham, 361.

Jones, Inigo, account of his mask, *ii.* 125; remarks respecting him, 360.

Jonson, Ben, account of his mask, *ii.* 125.

Joyeuse, Cardinal, his report of the character of Sixtus Quintus, *i.* 80 *n.*

K.

Kelly, Earl of, see *Erskine, Sir Thos.*
Kildare, Lady, her marriage with Lord Cobham, *i.* 70 *n.*

Kilmarnock, Viscountess, her marriage with Lord Kelly, i. 391.
 King, Dr. Bishop of London, his contribution towards repairing St. Paul's Cathedral, i. 317.
 Kitson, Sir T. anonymous letter to him, ii. 5.
 Knighthood, conferred by Queen Elizabeth on eleven persons at Basinge, ii. 22.

L.

Lake, Sir Thomas, account of his rise at court, i. 175; report respecting him, 181; cause of his fall, 182; narrative of his life, 192; the Countess of Exeter prefers a bill against him, 193; his trial, 195; deprived of the secretaryship, 196; his fine and sentence, ii. 179. 185; political reasons suspected to be the cause of his fall, 196 *n.*
 — Lady, the Countess of Exeter's bill against, i. 193; applications to the King in her behalf, 197 *n.*; sentenced to imprisonment, ii. 179, 180. 185; her letter to the Countess of Exeter, 196.
 — Dr. Bishop of Bath and Wells, his letter to Dr. Ward, ii. 218.
 Laud, Abp. his charitable works, i. 287.
 Leicester, Robert Dudley Earl of, his enmity to the Queen of Scots, i. 128.
 Lennox, Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of (afterwards Duke of Richmond), account of, i. 11 *n.*; his conversation with Count Gondomar relative to the Spanish match, 360.
 Lincoln, Bishop of, letter to, from the Earl of Bristol, ii. 320.
 London, proclamation of King James I. in, ii. 57.
 — Bishop of, letter to, from the Abp. of Canterbury, ii. 157.
 Lopez, Dr. his intrigues with the Earl of Essex, i. 150; disparages him to Don Antonio, 152; arrested for treason, 153; executed, 155; court versions of his treason, 156 *n.*
 Lords of the Privy Council, letter to, from William Watson, ii. 59.
 — of Scotland, their privileges, i. 73; change the religion of that kingdom, 75.

Lorkin, Mr. his remarks on Sir Lionel Cranfield's reforms in the court of James I. i. 320 *n.*; his letters to Sir T. Puckering, ii. 136. 168. 176.
 Lorraine, the Lady Mary of, Regent of Scotland during the infancy of Queen Mary, i. 73; her death, 75.
 Lyle, Robert Sydney Lord (afterwards Earl of Leicester), birth of his son, ii. 187.

M.

Madrid, accident to the Venetian ambassador's suite in, ii. 182.
 Manchester, Sir Henry Mountague Earl of, appointed Lord Treasurer, i. 291; account of him, *ib. n.*; honours conferred on him, 292; defends himself from the imputation of being concerned in the gunpowder plot, ii. 118. 120. 122; his letter to the Earl of Dorset, 118. 120.
 Manners, Katherine, see *Buckingham, Duchess of.*
 Manoury, M. arrested for clipping the coin, ii. 181.
 Mansell, Sir R. character of, i. 56.
 Mar, Earl of, see *Erskine, John.*
 Markham, Sir Griffin, one of the conspirators in the Raleigh plot, pardoned, ii. 92.
 Mary Queen of Scotland conveyed to France, i. 73; married to Francis II. 74; returns to Scotland, 75; her marriage with Lord Darnley, 76; her disagreement with him, 77; married to the Earl of Bothwell after Darnley's murder, *ib.*; imprisoned in England, 78; remarks on her imprisonment, 127; letters respecting her, 129 *n.*; intrigues to procure her execution, 131 *n.*; indignation of her subjects at her death, 132.
 Matthews, Toby, Abp. of York, anecdote of, ii. 268.
 — son of the Abp. his letters to the Duke of Buckingham, 267. 270; to the Duchess, 303.
 Mayerne, Dr. Theod. his opinion of the illness of the Earl of Salisbury, i. 46 *n.*
 Maynwaring, Mr. account of his suicide, ii. 405.
 Mead, Mr. his letters to Sir Martin Stuteville, ii. 198; letter to him, 404.

- Meryke, Sir Gilly, notice of his execution, ii. 18.
 Middlesex, Earl of, see *Cranfield*.
 Monmouth, Earl of, see *Cary*.
 Monson, Sir Thomas, indictment against him for acceding to the murder of Sir T. Overbury, ii. 154; his arraignment, 156.
 Montacute [Mountague], Anthony, Lord, one of the gunpowder plot conspirators, sent to the Tower, ii. 117.; his letters to Lord Dorset, exculpating himself, ii. 118. 120. 122.
 Mountague, Lord, see *Browne*.
 Montjoy, Charles Blunt Earl of, remarks respecting him, ii. 23 n. 25 n.; his flattery of Queen Elizabeth, 38; his letters to her, 23. 28, 29. 32, 33, 34. 37; letters to him—from Sir Robert Cecil, ii. 39. 45; from Lord Nottingham, 14. 39; from Queen Elizabeth, 28. 43. 49; from Tyrone, 41. 53.
 Mordaunt, Henry Lord, one of the conspirators in the gunpowder plot, sent to the Tower, ii. 117.
 More, Sir Thomas, anecdote of his chancellorship, i. 277.
 Moret, La Haye, the Countess of, anecdote of, ii. 101.
 Mountague, first Viscount, see *Brown*.
 ——— Sir Henry, see *Manchester*.
 Mountain, Dr. preaches Sir Robert Cecil's funeral sermon, i. 30.
 Murray, John, Earl of Annandale, notice of his influence with King James, i. 30 n.
 ——— Mr. account of his duel with Mr. Gibson, ii. 405.
 Musgrave, Capt. carried away by the Scottish borderers, ii. 9.
 ——— Lord, anecdote of him, ii. 109.

N.

- Naunton, Sir Robert, one of the Secretaries of State, account of his disgrace, ii. 228 n.; his letters to the Duke of Buckingham, 225, 241; to King James, 227.
 Navy, the English, remarks on the abuses in, during the early part of the reign of James I. i. 52; commissioners appointed to manage the affairs of, 54.
 Neile, Dr. Bishop of Durham, afterwards Abp. of York, anecdote of ii. 201.

- Neville, Dr. Thomas, Dean of Canterbury, his embassy to King James from the clergy, i. 28, 29 n.
 Norfolk, Thomas Howard Duke of, notice of his execution, i. 139.
 Norris, Capt. remarks respecting, i. 55.
 Northampton, Henry Howard Earl of, his remarks respecting Sir John Fortescue, i. 24; the Earl of Northumberland, 25; accounts of him, 144. 180.
 Northumberland, Henry Percy Earl of, remarks respecting him, i. 25 n.; favoured by King James, 26; suspected of being privy to the gunpowder plot, 103 n.; ii. 112; his examination, 115.
 Nottingham, Charles Howard Earl of, his favour with Queen Elizabeth, i. 164; remarks on his revenues, 181; anecdote of his treatment of Admiral Stuckeley, ii. 173; his letters to Lord Montjoy, 14. 39; letters to him from Lady Riche, 18.

O.

- Olivares, the Condé of, account of his quarrel with the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 324; his insults to Gondomar, *ib.*; quarrel with him, 368.
 O'Rourke, Mr. account of, i. 137; his apprehension and execution, 138 n. 139.
 Overall, Dr. (afterwards Bishop of Norwich,) his conversation with the Earl of Essex, i. 145.
 Overbury, Sir Thomas, anecdote of, i. 216; remarks on his imprisonment in the Tower, 219 *ib.* n.; allusion to his murder, 220, 221; execution of the parties, 146. 151. 158; inquiry into his murder, ii. 143; his letters to the Earl of Salisbury, *ib.*
 "Overbury's Vision," description of Mrs. Turner in the poem so called, ii. 146 n.
 Oxford, Henry de Vere Earl of, account of his imprisonment in the Tower, ii. 232 n.

P.

- Pagett, Charles, his letter to the Queen of Scots, i. 128 n.
 Paintings, account of some rare paintings in the possession of the President Chevallier, ii. 328; of the Bishop of Paris, 338.

Palatine, Prince, see *Frederick V.*
 Palmer, Mr. proposes to raise the coinage, i. 316.
 Pampeluna, Governor of, executed for practising with France, ii. 109.
 Papists, hatred of, in England, i. 86; their plans, 87; their persecution in the reign of James I. 100; contrive the gunpowder plot, 102; act of parliament respecting them, ii. 198.
 Paris, Bishop of, description of some rare paintings in his possession, ii. 338.
 Parry, Dr. William, account of his treason, i. 119; his trial, 123; executed, 124.
 Pasquinades on the poverty of the Scots, i. 321 *n.*
 Paulett, Lord and Lady, entertain Queen Elizabeth at Basinge, ii. 20.
 Philip II. King of Spain, his opinion of the Princess Elizabeth (afterwards the Queen), i. 4; his treatment of her, *ib. n.*; favours the English Papists, 88; their dependence upon him, 90.
 ——— III. King of Spain, proposal for the marriage between his daughter and Prince Henry of England, i. 357; with Prince Charles, 360; his reception of him, 371; punishes the Governor of Pampeluna for practising with France, ii. 109; letter to him from King James I. 259.
 Pembroke, William Earl of, anecdote of his generosity, i. 313.
 Percy, Thomas, his character, i. 102; one of the conspirators in the gunpowder plot, 103, ii. 111; reward for his apprehension, 115; his death, i. 106, ii. 117.
 Perkins, Sir Christopher, account of, i. 329; remarks on his marriage, 334; his death, 335.
 Pickeringe, Sir T. see *Puckeringe*.
 Pius Quintus, Pope, character of, i. 78; excommunicates Queen Elizabeth, 79.
 Poland, King of, sends an ambassador to England with propositions of peace, i. 59.
 Popes, see *Pius Quintus*.—*Gregory XIII.*—*Sixtus Quintus*.—*Clement VIII.*
 Popish priests, see *Priests*.
 Porter, Sir Endymion, account of his

accident on his embassy to Spain, ii. 249.
 Portugal, competitors for the crown of, i. 152 *n.*
 Pory, Mr. his letters to Sir Robert Cotton, ii. 124. 138; to Sir T. Puckering, 201 *n.*
 Priests, popish, many of them tried and executed for treason, i. 158.
 Proclamation for the apprehension of Thomas Percy, ii. 115.
 Puckeringe, or Pickeringe, Sir T. favours the execution of the Queen of Scots, i. 132; his appointments, 133; letters to him from Mr. Lor-kin, ii. 136. 168. 176; from J. Pory, 201 *n.*
 Purbeck, Lady, notice of the proceedings against her, ii. 377.

R.

Raleigh conspiracy, or bye-plot, account of, ii. 59; execution of the conspirators, 88. 91, 92.
 ——— Sir Walter, his project on the union of England and Scotland, i. 21; account of his treason, 63. 65; remarks on his execution, 68, 69; notice of his attempt to stab himself in the Tower, ii. 93; his letter to his wife, *ib.*
 ——— Lady, letter to her from Sir Walter, ii. 93.
 Ramsay, John, Earl of Holderness, account of, i. 22 *n.*
 Randolph, Thomas, his account of the Queen of Scots' marriage with Lord Darnley, i. 77 *n.*
 Rawleigh, Sir Walter, see *Raleigh*.
 Revenue, account of the state of, ii. 203. 207. 211.
 Rich, Sir Harry (afterwards Lord Kensington and Earl of Holland), account of his duel with Sir Edward Villiers, ii. 171.
 Rich, Lady, sister of the Earl of Essex, out of favour with Queen Elizabeth, ii. 1. 18; her letters to Lord Nottingham, *ib.*
 Richelieu, Cardinal, letter to him from Villiers Holman, ii. 348.
 Richmond, Duchess of, her intrigue to procure the marriage between Lord Kelly and the Viscountess Kilmar-nock, i. 391.
 Roman Catholic seminaries, see *Seminaries*.

Roman Catholics, the English, their dependence upon Philip II. of Spain, i. 90.

Roos, Lady, daughter of Sir Thomas Lake, particulars respecting her, ii. 180.

Roos, Lord, character of, i. 182 ; his marriage, 183.

"Royal and Noble Authors" (Walpole's), impression of one of Elizabeth's coins in, i. 164 *n.*

Rutland, Francis Manners Earl of, account of the marriage between his daughter and the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 189. 192 *n.* ; his letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, 189 ; letter to him from the Marquis of Buckingham, 191.

S.

Sackville, Sir Edward (afterwards Earl of Dorset), visits the Abp. of Spalato at Rome, i. 352 *n.*

Salisbury, Earl of, see *Cecil, Sir Robert.*

Sancy, M. Harley de, negotiates for a treaty between France and England, ii. 9 *n.*

Sandford, Sir John, his letter to Sir T. Edmonds, ii. 132.

Saxon Kings, simplicity of the, i. 382.

Scotland, governed by Lady Mary of Lorraine during the infancy of Queen Mary, i. 73 ; change of the religion in, 75 ; endowment of bishoprics by King James VI. 91 ; revenues of the Crown insufficient to support the government of, 270.

Scotland, church of, see *Church.*

Scots, their extravagance in England, i. 99 ; pasquinades on their poverty, 321 *n.*

Seminaries, R. Catholic, establishment of, by Cardinal Allen, i. 90.

Sixtus Quintus, Pope, his penurious character, i. 80 *n.* ; anecdote of him, 81 *n.* ; his death, *ib. n.*

Somerset, Earl of, see *Carr.*

Spain, extension of religious knowledge in, i. 89 ; fertility of, 169 ; base coin in, 170 ; amusing description of, ii. 132.

—— King of, see *Philip III.*

—— Queen of, her present to Prince Charles, i. 371.

—— Infanta of, her proposed marriage with Prince Charles of Eng-

land, ii. 235. 239 ; description of her, 285 *n.* ; King James's directions respecting her journey to England, 299 ; remarks on the abrupt termination of her proposed marriage, 322 ; letter to her from King James I. 295.

Spalato, Antonio de Dominis, Abp. of, account of him, i. 336 ; his arrival and reception in England, 339 ; mastership of the Savoy and deanery of Windsor given to him, 340 ; anecdote of, *ib. n.* ; quarrel with the canons of Windsor, 341 ; corresponds with the Pope and Catholic ministers, 345, 346 ; solicits permission to leave England, 347 ; proceeding in consequence, 348 ; his examination, 349 ; ordered to depart, 350 ; his trunks detained, 351 ; solicits the King for their restoration, 352 ; his recantation of heresy, *ib.* ; his death, 354 ; his body burnt for heresy, *ib.* ; notice of his return to Rome, ii. 218.

Spaniards, landing of, in Ireland, ii. 31.

Spencer, Sir John, his death, ii. 127 ; vast property, *ib. n.* 128 *n.*

Stuart, the Lady Arabella, remarks on her marriage with the Earl of Hertford, i. 209 ; her provision, 211 ; narrative of her life and adventures, 212 *n.* ; her letters to Prince Henry, ii. 103, 104 ; to ———, 105.

Stukeley, Admiral Sir Lewis, anecdote respecting him, ii. 173 ; arraigned for clipping the coin, 175.

Stuteville, Sir Martin, letter to, from Mr. Mead, ii. 198. 249.

Suffolk, Thomas Howard Earl of, see *Howard.*

Swarton, Sarah, accused of perjury, her sentence, ii. 180. 185.

Sydney, Robert, see *Lyle.*

T.

Tailor of Dartford, story of, i. 396.

Theloal, Simon, his letter to Dr. Dun, ii. 55.

Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas, anecdote of, i. 44 *n.*

—— Sir John, his letters to Mr. William Trumbull, ii. 153. 156.

Throgmorton, Francis, accused of treason, i. 116. 119 *n.*

- Throgmorton, Judge, account of, i. 116 ; Queen Mary's favour to, 118.
 Tooke, Thomas, his letter to Mr. John Hubberd, ii. 20.
 Treasurer, Lord, characters of the treasurers of the reign of James I. i. 289. 291.
 Tresham, Mr. one of the conspirators in the gunpowder plot, i. 104.
 Trumbull, Mr. William, letters to him from Sir J. Throckmorton, ii. 153. 156.
 Trym, Richard, his letters to Sir Robt. Crane, ii. 185.
 Tufton, Sir Humphrey, account of, ii. 404 *n.*
 Tunstal, Cuthbert, Bishop of Duresme, supposed to be the godfather of Queen Elizabeth, i. 419.
 Turner, Mrs. executed for participating in the murder of Sir T. Overbury, ii. 146 ; description of her in a poem on her death, 146 *n.*
 Tyrone, Hughe Earl of, notice of his rebellion in Ireland, i. 93 ; of his death, 96 ; professes his submission to Queen Elizabeth, ii. 41 ; her conditions respecting his pardon, 50 ; his letters to Lord Montjoy, 41. 53.
 Turpyn, R. his letter to the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 302.

U.

- Unton, Sir Henry, anecdote of his flattery of Queen Elizabeth, ii. 38.
 Usher, Dr. (afterwards Abp.) his character, ii. 199.

V.

- Vanlore, Sir Peter, anecdote respecting him, i. 204.
 Vane, Sir Francis, notice of his being created Earl of Westmoreland, ii. 361 *n.*
 Vaux, Guy, see *Faux*.
 Verneuil, Marquise of, Henry IV. of France's attachment to, ii. 101 ; the Queen jealous of her, 102, 103.
 Villeauxclercs, M. French ambassador, account of his arrival and reception in England, ii. 363.
 Villiers, George, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, account of his being knighted, i. 224 ; his personal appearance, 225 ; his character, 226

n. ; his descent, 255 ; persuaded from marrying the daughter of Sir Robert Aston, 256 ; his persecution of the Earl of Middlesex, 325 ; his hatred of Sir Christopher Perkins, 334 ; accompanies Prince Charles into Spain, 368 ; ii. 253. ; his conduct there, i. 372 ; quarrels with the Earl of Bristol, 373. 403 ; his opinion of the cause of the breach of the Spanish match, 382 ; the King's affection for him, 384. 393 ; his grief on the death of King James, 409 ; his marriage with Katharine Manners, ii. 189, 192 *n.* ; his account of the journey to Spain with Prince Charles, 254 ; the King's fondness for his children, 290 *n.* ; the King's attachment to him, 306 ; reports respecting his conduct in Spain, 314, 315 ; rupture of the Spanish match attributed to his influence, 322 ; account of his quarrel with the Condé of Olivares, 324 ; his letters—to the Earl of Rutland, 191 ; to King James, 253. 296. 361 ; to the Earl of Bristol, 402 ; letters to him—from the Abp. of Canterbury, 160 ; Chief Justice Coke, 161 ; Sir L. Cranfeild, 164. 202. 207. 210 ; the Countess his mother, 183. 258. 276 ; the Earl of Rutland, 189 ; Prince Charles, 209 ; Lord Bacon, 222, 223 ; Secretary Naunton, 225. 241 ; Lady Mary Jacob, 229 ; Sir J. Wentworth, 231 ; the Count Gondomar, 238 ; Robert Heath, 244 ; the Marquis of Hamilton, 247 ; King James I. 255. 257. 297, 298, 299. 382 ; Balthasar Gerbier, 260. 326. 356. 369. 383. 388 ; Toby Matthews, 267. 270 ; Secretary Conwey, 273. 286. 290, 291. 306. 346. 363 ; the Duchess his wife, 277. 283. 309 ; Edward Clarke, 300 ; R. Turpyn, 302 ; Mr. James Waddsworth, 314 ; Sir Walter Aston, 368 ; Sir R. Heath and Sir T. Coventry, 370 ; the Duke of Chevreuse, 380.
 Villiers, Lady Mary, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 264 ; account of her, 278 ; the King's fondness for her, 290.
 — Sir Edward, account of his duel with Sir Henry Rich, ii. 171.

W.

- Waddsworth, James, his letter to the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 314 ; his character, 318 *n*.
 Wallis, Thomas, his letter to Dr. Ward, ii. 174.
 Ward, Dr. letters to him from Thos. Wallis, ii. 174 ; Gerard Herbert, 186 ; Dr. Hall, 194 ; Bishop Lake, 218 ; Bedell, 325.
 Warwick, Robert Rich second Earl of, his death, ii. 195.
 ——— Lady, a zealous friend of the Earl of Essex, ii. 3 *n*.
 Warwickshire, insurrection in, ii. 112.
 Watson, William, a priest, tried for treason, 64 ; his account of the Raleigh conspiracy in his letter to the Lords of the Privy Council, ii. 59 ; executed, 88.
 Wentworth, Sir J. his letter to the Duke of Buckingham, ii. 231.
 Westmoreland, Earl of, see *Vane*.
 Weston, Lord, notice of Lord Clarendon's character of him, i. 2 *n*.
 Whitehall, banqueting house at, destroyed by fire, ii. 175. 187.
 Williams, Lord (afterwards Abp. of York), anecdote of him, i. 1 *n*. ; his character, 285 ; his charitable works, 287.
 Windebank, Secretary, letter to him from Mr. Robt. Woodward, ii. 193.
 Windsor, canons of, see *Canons*.
 ——— church of, remarks on the management of, i. 342.
 Winter, Christopher, his connexion

with the conspiracy of the gunpowder plot, i. 104.

- Winter, Thomas, applies to the King of Spain in behalf of the Catholics, i. 88 ; his connexion in the gunpowder plot, 104.
 Winwood, Sir Ralph, remarks respecting him, i. 186, 187 *n*. ; his discovery of the perpetrators of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder, 257 *n*. ; difference between him and Sir Francis Bacon, 283 ; anecdote of his meanness, 401 ; blamed for advising the resignation of the towns of Flushing and Brill, 414 *n*. ; his discovery of the author of the murder of Sir T. Overbury, ii. 144 *n*.
 Woodward, Robert, his letter to Secretary Windebank, ii. 193.
 Worcester, Edward Somerset, Earl of, character of, i. 201.
 Worsley, Mr. a Catholic, his conspiracy against the King's life, ii. 198 ; apprehended, 199.
 Wotton, Sir H. his description and character of Pope Clement VIII. i. 82 *n*.

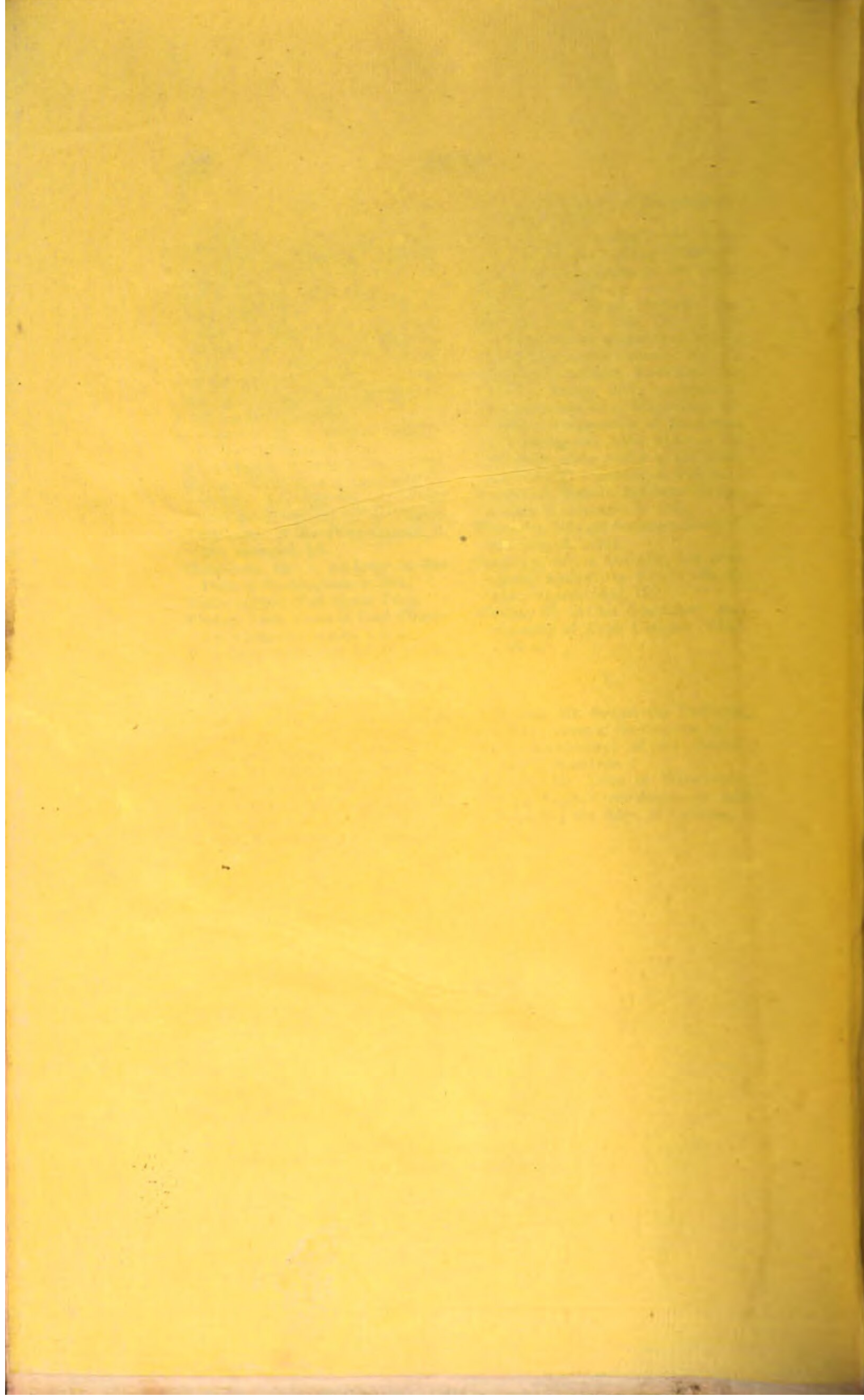
Y.

- Yelverton, Mr. favours the Puritans, i. 343 ; cause of his disgrace, *ib*.
 York, Archbishops of, see *Heath* ; *Neile* ; *Matthews*.
 Younge, Dr. Dean of Winchester, King James's instructions to him respecting the Abp. of Spalato, i. 348.

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